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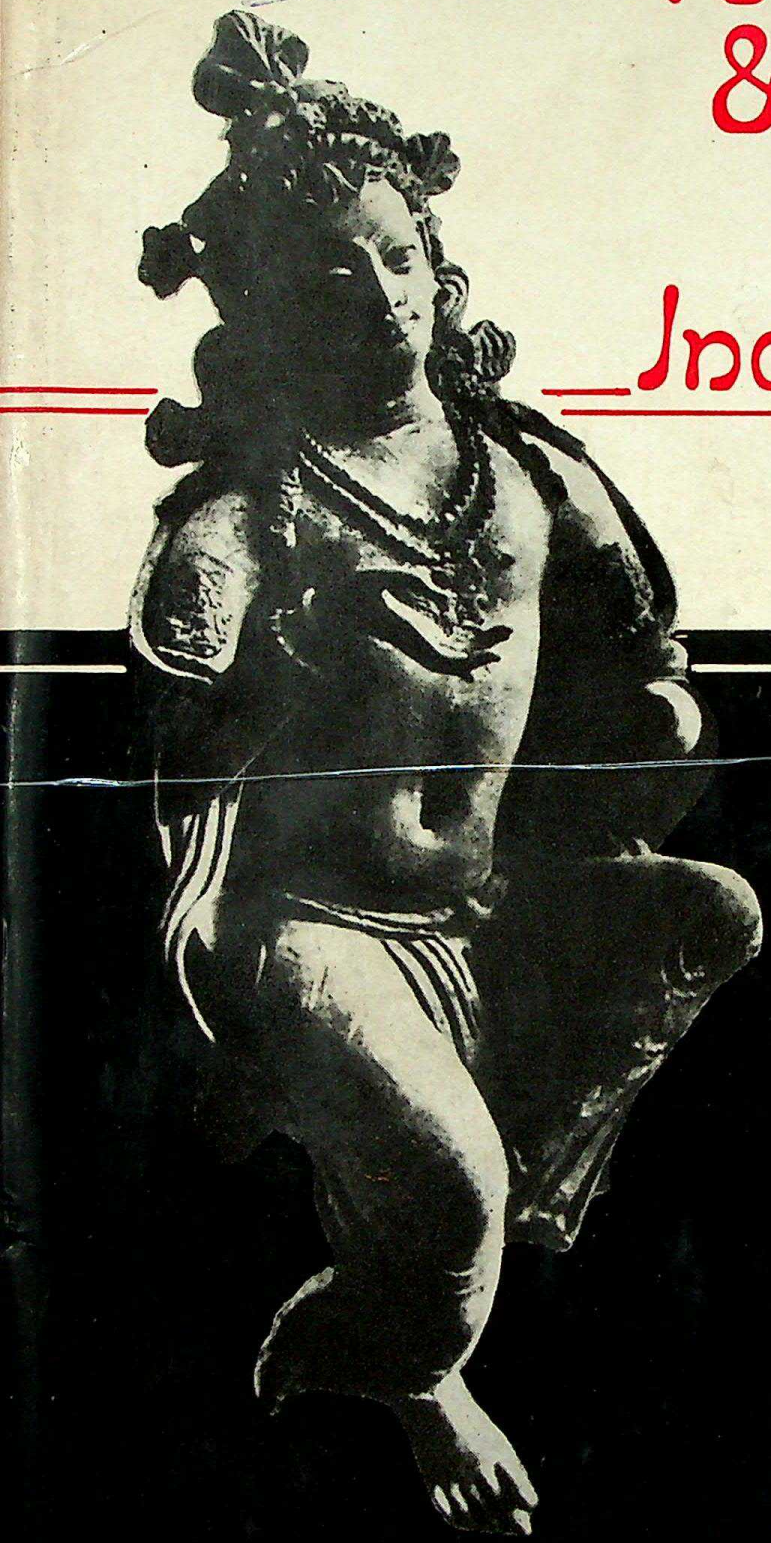
Foreign Influx & Interaction with Indian Culture



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FOREIGN INFLUX AND INTERACTION WITH INDIAN CULTURE

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Foreign Influx and Interaction with Indian Culture

(6th Cent. B.C.—1st Cent. A.D.)

SAROJINI CHATURVEDI

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1985
AGAM KALA PRAKASHAN
DELHI

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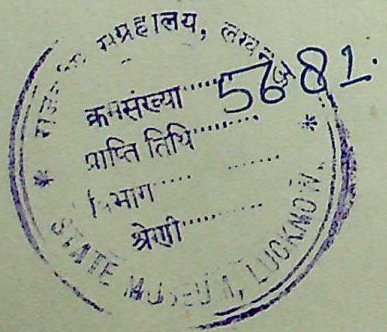

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Dedicated
to
the loving memory of my father-in-law,
Sri Vidya Dhar Chaturvedi,
who was a constant source of inspiration

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FOREWORD

Confrontation between two civilizations is seldom unproductive. While the superior one initially triumphs, it finally submerges itself in the native ethics losing its entity but not without shaping the tenor or atleast leaving its impact on the indigenous one. India despite its geographical insularity with the Himalayas affording it protection from the north and the seas on its three sides providing strength to its identity, was time and again invaded by foreigners from the north-western side for a number of centuries. The influx of the foreigners no doubt changed the political history of the country but more than that they equally contributed to the natural mainstream of Indian Culture. The Persians or Achaemenians, in the 6th Cent. B.C., followed by the Yavanas or Greeks accompanying Alexander in the 4th Cent. B.C. and later on the Parthians, the Sakas, the Kushanas and finally Hunas in Ancient India completed the cycle of foreign incursions within a period of nearly a thousand years. Each conflicting nation or set of foreigners was so assimilated that it had to face the same challange in its turn against a new set of intruders. This long process continued in the ancient as well as the modern periods of country's history—with the coming of the Arabs, followed by the Afghans. Iranians and the Mughals and the Europeans—particularly the Portugese, Dutch, French and the English.

This story of foreign incursions and their impact on Indian Culture, therefore, demands proper investigation and equally critical appreciation and that too in a scientific spirit. Scholars have, no doubt, in the past discussed the extent of foreign influence, more or less in a specialised manner, confining their area of study only to a certain set of foreigners. Thus, one finds an interesting account of Greek Influence in different fields in Gauranga Nath Bannerjee's Hellenism in Ancient India—a pioneer work published more than sixty years back, or an Achaemenian—Persian Influence in B. Spooner's paper

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published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society more than seventy years back. D.R. Bhandarkar in his paper entitled "Foreign Elements in Hindu Population" published in Indian Antiquary (Vol. XL) long ago is supposed to be a pioneer attempt based mostly on epigraphic evidence. His William Meyer's lectures covering the problem of Aryans and Dasyus is another interesting study of a much earlier phase.

Sarojini Chaturvedi's study is neither a very detailed study of the contribution of any one particular Foreign race, nor is it a general survey of the impacts left by all the foreigners who came to India in ancient times. It is a midway between the two, sufficiently deeper in study and fairly wider in treatment. It is a scholarly work based on all available sources—primarily inscriptions, literature, art and other allied source material. The approach is critical, assessment objective and treatment in detail. All aspects of culture with its finer traits including Art and Architecture, language and literature, dance, drama, astrology and astronomy as also customs and costumes and even commercial and trade impacts are noticed in proper context. The book is expected to provide a close insight into the contributions of these foreigners to the composite culture of the country. This book, I am sure, with its detailed bibliography and written in a language—lucid and understandable and free from jargons—should find its appreciation amidst the academic circles as also in general public.

Lucknow
January 18, 1985

B.N. PURI

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PREFACE

The present work is an attempt at gauging the extent of impact made by the various races and tribes which invaded India during the span of time stretching from the 6th Cent. B.C. to 1st Cent. A.D. and the varied contributions brought to bear by them in moulding the shape of Indian Civilisation.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to Dr. B.N. Puri, who has kindly guided and helped me all along while this work was in progress. My thanks are also due to Dr. B.N. Srivastava, Head of Department, Ancient Indian History, Lucknow University, Dr. B.N. Mukherjee, Dr. R.C. Sharma, Dr. K.K. Thapaliyal, Prof. G.R. Sharma, Prof. J.S. Negi, Dr. Om Prakash, Dr. Lallanji Gopal, Dr. S.P. Tewarson and my colleague Sri Rahul Shukla.

I should like to thank Sri Ashfaq Ali, Librarian of Lucknow Museum Library, Sri I.M. Tripathi, Librarian Lucknow Secretariat Library, Sri Chandra Mohan Srivastava and Late Sri Bhagwat Sahi of the Central Archaeological Library for providing me help and ample library facilities.

In the end, I must thank my husband, Subhas, without whose co-operation, this book would not have seen the light of day and my two sons, Gagan and Tuhin, who have helped me in correcting the proofs.

Inspite of my best efforts many mistakes are bound to have been left, for which I crave the indulgence of my readers.

Lucknow

Sarojini Chaturvedi

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
AI	Ancient India
AP	Ancient Pakistan
ASIAR	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report
BMFEA	Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquties
BMC	British Museum Coins—Catalogue
BMQ	British Museum Quarterly
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CHI	Cultural Heritage of India
CII	Corpus Inscriptions Indicarum Vol II Part I—Karoṣṭhī Inscriptions by Sten Konow
EI	Epigraphica Indica
IA	Indian Antiquary
IC	Indian Culture
ICWIC	India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JNSB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JBRS	Journal of the Bihar Research Society
JISOA	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Act
JNSI	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

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JRASB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Bengal
JUPHS	Journal of U.P. Historical Society
MASI	Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India
NC	Numismatic Chronicle
OA	Oriental Arts
PIHS	Proceedings of Indian History Congress
PMC	Punjab Museum Coin Catalogue
ZDMC	Zeitschrift der Deustschen Morgenlandischen Cesselschaft

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ए
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	e
ऐ	ओ	औ	अं	अः	ऋ	ऌ
ai	o	au	ṁ	ḥ	ṛ	ḷ
क्	ख्		ग्		घ्	ङ्
k	kh		g		gh	ṅ
च्	छ्		ज्		झ्	ञ्
c	ch		j		jh	ñ
ट्	ठ्		ड्		ढ्	ण्
ṭ	ṭh		ḍ		ḍh	ṇ
त्	थ्		द्		ध्	न्
t	th		d		dh	n
प्	फ्		ब्		भ्	म्
p	ph		b		bh	m
य्	र्		ल्		व्	श्
y	r		l		v	ś
ष्	स्		ह्		क्ष्	त्र
ṣ	s		h		kṣ	tr
			ज्ञ्			
			jṅ			

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Indian Civilization—Art and Architecture—Language and Literature—The Śakas and Indian Drama—Astronomy and Astrology—Trade and Economy—Religion of the Śakas—Sunworship—Śaka Era—Conclusion.

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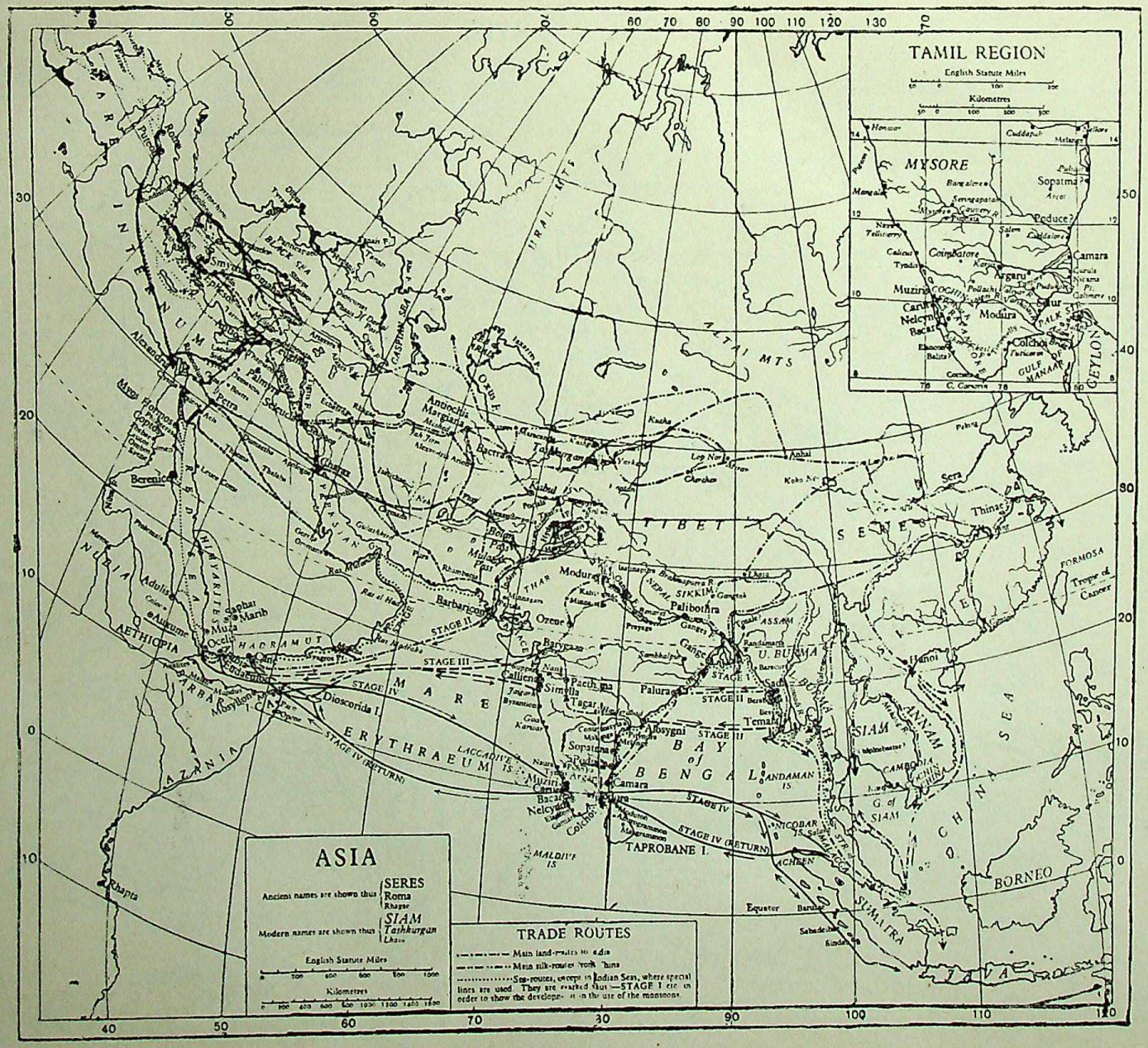

MAP 1

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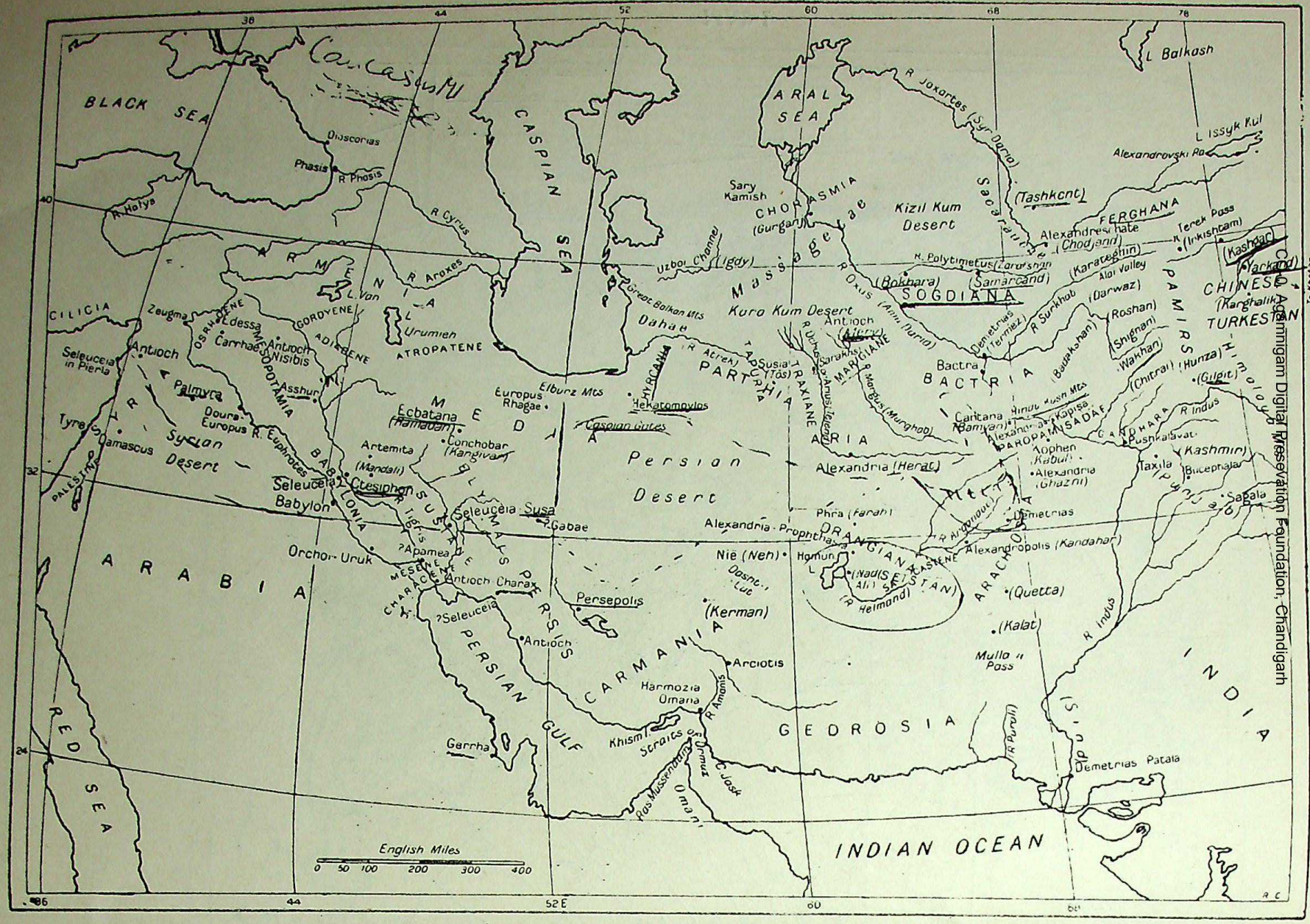

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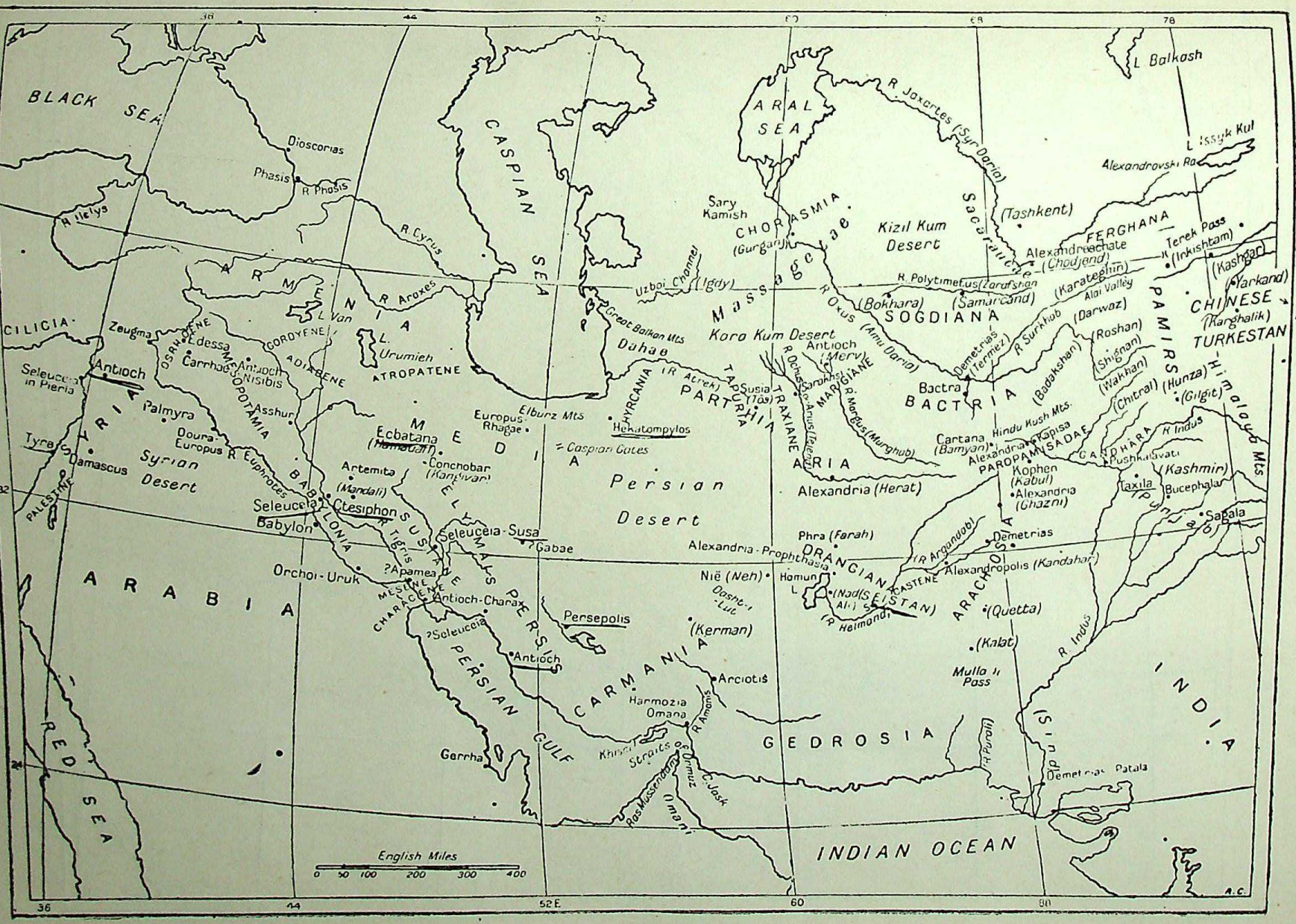

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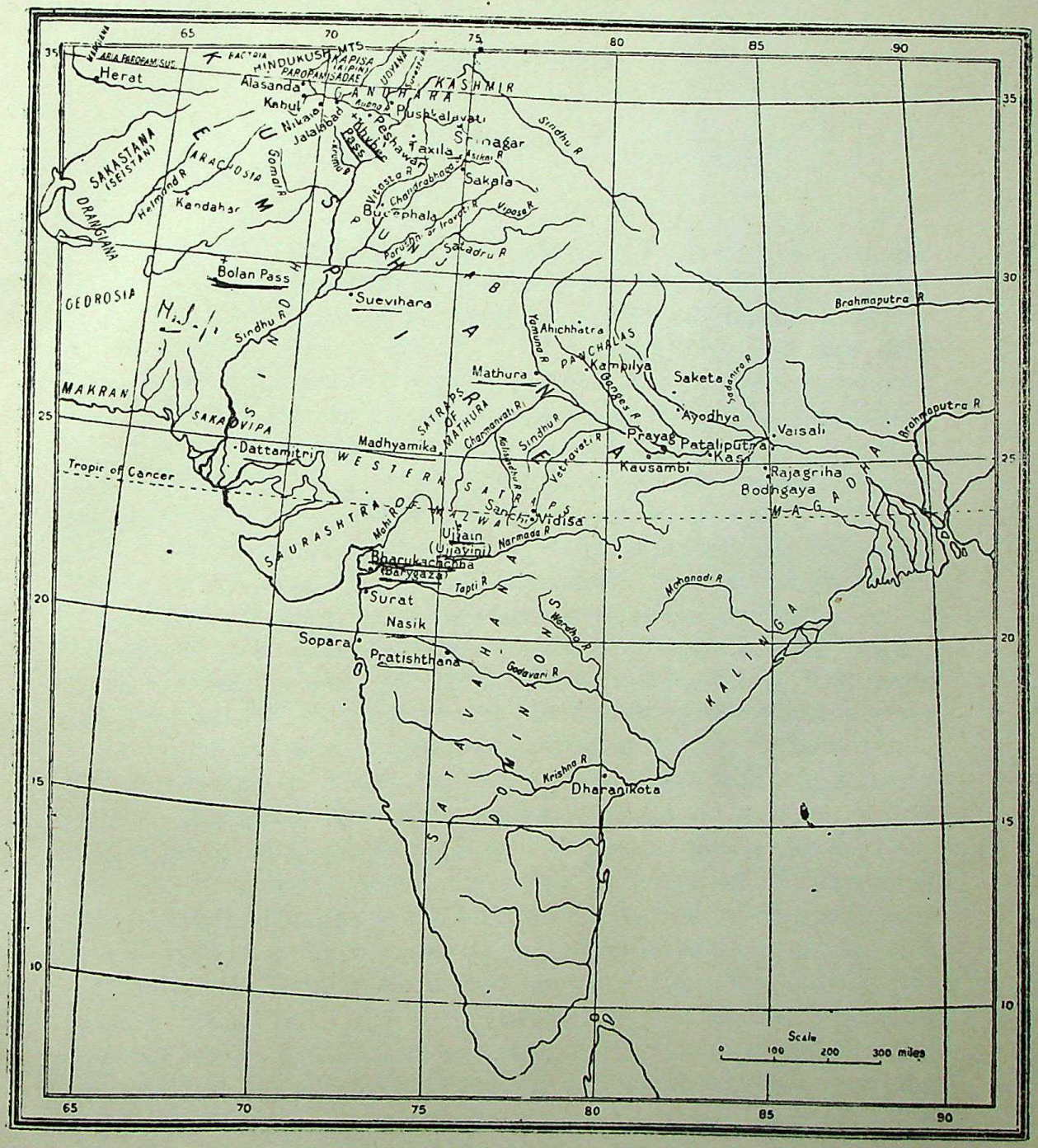

MAP 5

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CHAPTER ONE

Beginnings of Indian Civilization

The early beginnings of civilization in India can, with a fair degree of exactitude, be traced back to *circa* 4000 B.C.[1] A question might legitimately be posed here as to what are the prime factors which contributed to the genesis of this civilization? The idea that dialectical interaction of opposites culminates in progressive motion, has served in many other ages and societies as the key for understanding the nature of creation and the process of growth thereafter. The Greek scientist Empedocles identified these opposite yet complementary forces as 'Love and Hate', in China they are termed as 'Yin & Yang'[2] and in modern West as Thesis and Antithesis, Challenge and Response.[3] An effective challenge stimulates creative action which is Response. According to Toynbee the genesis of civilization is the outcome of an encounter[4] of these opposite factors or in other words, the birth of civilization is the product of an interaction of Challenge and Response.[5] When a challenge is posed from outside whether in the form of an invasion or peaceful infiltration of ideas and traditions, the civilization so confronted responds to it and finds a solution in its own particular way. This process supplies a stimulus which evokes the potential creative energy, first for the genesis and then for the growth of civilization.[6] Once the technique of civilization is mastered for the first time, there follows a period of entrenchment and assimilation. After achieving a certain standard of growth and advancement, if there is no further impetus from the outside, no further contact with the world of different values, the civilization becomes static.[7] Civilizations as a rule, do not remain isolated but are constantly interchanging peacefully or otherwise.[8] This interplay of outside stimulus and indigenous response is clearly reflected in the creation and growth of Indian Civilization, which provided it with

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its characteristic *elan vital*,[9] to grow, prosper and attain dizzy heights at different periods of its history.

Inspite of her comparative isolation, created by high mountains and deep seas, India has never been insular,[10] rather it has been receiving successive waves of migrating foreign people with different languages, diverse cultures and racial affinities[11] and at the same time has also maintained close cultural, commercial and diplomatic ties with the outside world.

It is an anthropological fact that man did not originate in India[12] and all her human habitants have come from outside but once they settled down, they lost that alien character and developed their salient characteristics within this land.[13] Anthropologists are of the opinion that from the beginning till the advent of Aryans, six main races with nine sub types entered India.[14] They are the Negroids or Negrito, the Proto-Australoids, the Mongolians comprising the Paleo Mongoloids and Tibeto-Mongoloids, the two successive waves of Mediterraneans—early Mediterranean and advanced or civilized Mediterraneans who became Dravidians in India, Alpinoids comprising Dinarics and Armenoids and finally the Nordics or the Aryans.[15] These six races together form the basic ethnic unit of India today[16] and each of these individually contributed to the shaping of the formation of the mass of Indian civilization. With the passage of time there has been confusion and an overlapping of all these races and it is no longer possible to analyse their constituents singly in all the fields but on the basis of the comparative study of languages,[17] anthropologists have tried to assess and make near enough guesses about their different traits, material culture and contribution to Indian life and civilization in all spheres.

Negrito or Negroids

To begin with the brachycephalic Negroids or Negrito people of prehistoric India came from Africa[18] and were its first human inhabitants. They were in the eolithic stage of culture and appear to have been food gatherers rather than food producers.[19] Today they are almost extinct in India but a small group of negritos

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survives in the Andamans where they have retained their language. The Nagas of Assam and certain tribes of South India also have some of their traces. Outside India they passed on to Malaya, Phillipines and New Guinea. Being in the primitive stage of development, they do not appear to have made any important contribution towards the civilization of their adopted land, except perhaps the invention of the bow.[20]

Proto-Australoids

The Proto-Australoids, who came after the Negritos and that too from the West, have furnished one of the basic elements in the population of India, as throughout the country they still live as a lower caste of Indian Society.[21] These were the very people who were termed '*Niṣādas*' by Aryans and their dark skin and snub nose were held in ridicule by them. After coming to India the Proto-Australoids get mixed up with the Negritos and the Mongoloids. Their remnants are the Kol or Muṇdā[22] type in India, Mon Khamer in Assam and Burma. A branch of Proto-Australoids passed on to Australia and beyond in very early times. Consequently Austronesian people, Melanesians and Polynesians have a good deal of Proto-Australoid in them.

Contribution of Proto-Australoids

The Contribution of Proto-Australoids to both the material and spiritual side of Indian Civilization has been important and varied. They are responsible for the neolithic development of the paleolethic Culture[23] of the country and appear to have introduced the art of pottery[24] which was unknown to Negritos. They were the people, who provided the bedrock of Indian Civilization-agriculture[25] by inventing the hoe and digging stick cultivation, growing of rice, different kinds of fruits and vegetables like the coconut[26], Jamuna (rose apple) banana, betel, pumpkin, lime and so on.[27] They are supposed to have cultivated cotton and woven cloth from it.[28] They also tamed domestic fowl, the peacock and some breed of horse.[29] The Proto-Australoids were the first people to catch and domesticate the

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elephant.[30] The chewing of betel, the use of turmeric and vermillion in religious ritual and social life[31] the counting by twenties,[32] enumerating the days by the phases of the moon, the tithies[33] are some of the contributions of these newcomers.

On the spiritual side too they were not failing. The idea of totemism and taboo, the[34] removal of the evil eye by nichāwar[35] (as is the custom still practised by the superstitious people of North India) with some notions of future life (the germs of the idea of transmigration came with them), some myths and legends like the story of the creation of world from an egg,[36] the tortoise incarnation of Vishṇu[37] princess smelling of fish[38] (matsyagandhā) and legends of nāgī[39] in later Indian literature and many more formed part of Austric or Proto Australoid inheritance. The use of a block of stone as a symbol of divinity[40] is also an Austric custom. Zoomorphic deitities were also the part of their totemism which were strengthened by later Dravidians. Some form of phallic worship and the fertility cult[41] was also prevalent among the Proto-Australoids. The linguistic legacy of Proto-Australoids is more enduring and important. They are known, as the speakers of Austro-Asiatic languages, to have distributed over the widest area from the Punjab to New Zealand and from Madagascar to the Eastern Islands.[42] The Indian variety of these languages is known as the Muṇdā which accordingly is to be considered as the earliest language spoken in India.[43] Consequently Austric influenced Sanskrit,[44] the language of the Indo-Aryans, to a great extent, which borrowed quite a number of words from Austric[45] especially for those unfamiliar objects which they found in India. The masses of these agricultural Austrics who had spread from Afghanistan to Bihar, gradually got mixed up with the other races and became Sanskrit speaking somewhere between 1500 BC & 600 BC but some non-Aryan groups still remained intact, tucked away in the huge wilderness of India.

Mongoloids

The Mongoloid group, which came from the East, is not important for the greater part of India, as it is predominant only in the tribes living in Assam and the Indo-Burmese frontier. Among them Tibeto-

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Mongoloids are more pronounced, who are found in Bhutan and Sikkim. Perhaps this groups is the Kirātas of ancient Indian literature.[4]

Mediterranean People

Anthropologists maintain that at least three varieties of Mediterranean people came to India and all three of them spoke the Dravidian language. These were the people who came to be called Dravidians in India. The first wave was of medium statured, dark skinned people of slight built found largely in Kannada, Tamil and Malyalam tract.

The others were true Mediterraneans or European type, taller and fairer. They occur in the Punjab and Upper Gangetic Valley. The third Mediterranean strain or the so-called 'Oriental' one, commonly miscalled Semetic or Jewish, with a pronouncedly longish nose and fair skin is found in the Punjab, Sind, Kathiawar and in western Uttar Pradesh.

The Dravidian language, with the exception of the Brahui pocket in Baluchistan, and the people representing it, are at present confined to the Deccan and South India but the survival of the Dravidian place names in Northern India like Kosala-Tosala, Aṅga'-Vaṅga, Kalinga-Utkal[47] and so on, the reference to non-Aryan people in Vedic and other ancient literature and the presence of strong Dravidian element in the Aryan language,[48] strongly indicate that when the Aryans came, the Dravidians were fairly spread in almost the whole of North India, where they were living side by side with the Austric people leading to a racial and cultural fusion. The Aryans met two main non-Aryan tribes in India-*Dasyus* and *Nishādas* who are the Dravidians and Austrics respectively.[49]

Contribution of Dravidans to Indian Civilization

The Dravidians were highly civilized people who brought with them a city culture, in contrast with the village culture of Proto-Australoids.[50] The ruins of Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Kalibangan (Rajasthan), Rupar (Punjab), and Lothal (Gujrat) give us an insight

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into their highly advanced material culture. By now they had settled to agrarian ways, had built scientifically planned cities with a network of roads, various types of buildings complete with an almost modern drainage system. They had built dams for irrigation, learnt the use of the calendar, had worked the mines and metals and produced alloys, built wheeled carriages and had evolved an international system of trade.

But more abiding was the religio-spritual aspect of this culture. Numerous items of beliefs, rites and myths which are known today came with them. The very commonly used word 'pūjā' in daily Hindu worship, not known to Rig Veda, originated from the Dravidian word 'pu'[51], meaning flower. *Pujā* denotes a flower ritual in which the main offerings were flowers, leaves, fruits, water etc. With the acceptance of non-Aryan rituals also came the conception of their divinity and myths.

The institution of Yoga and the conception of Śiva as the great yogī, as Virūpāksha or the terrible one, as Paśupati—the lord of animals and souls, was known among the Indus Valley people, as indicated by the representation of State figure of the god in the yogic posture surrounded by animals which has been identified with Śiva.[52] The Phallic symbol of Śiva appears to be proto-Australoid in origin.[53]

Śiva's consort Umā or Pārvatī is in fact an adaptation of the Great Mother goddess[54], symbolising the forces of life and fertility which the Dravidians brought with them from their original home land. Mother goddess was worshipped, all over the middle east, in one form or other.[55] She was Cebele in Phrygia, Ishtar in Phonecia, and Astrate in Syria.[56]

The Aryan gods were of a vague personality, mostly symbolising the forces of nature while the gods and goddesses conceived by the Dravidians were more forceful, typifying the forces of life and universe.[57] The impact of these Dravidian deities was naturally greater, which, with the passage of time forced the popular Aryan gods like Indra, Agni, Pusan, Varuṇa etc. in the background, making way for these stronger non-Aryan, deities. Krishna, the demon

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fighter against Indra in the Ṛig Veda, represents a Dravidian god of youth,[58] who later on became one of the various incarnation of Vishṇu. Similarly Hanumant, the monkey god and devotee of Rāma in the epic, was a prototype of the male monkey god,[59] worshipped by the Dravidians. In Tamil he is named as An-manti[60], which became Hanumant in Sanskrit. In the Ṛig Veda,[61] this monkey god was incorporated by the name of Vṛsa Kapi, meaning male monkey. Another youthful god, symbolising bravery and martial spirit was the Dravidian god Murukan, who in the composite Puranic mythology became transformed as Skanda or Kumar,[62] the elder son of Śiva. Śiva's second son Ganesh,[63] the elephant headed god, who is still appeased at the outset of every auspicious function, to avert the super-natural hindrances, is also supposed to be a non-Aryan deity. In later Hinduism he turned into a benign god who removes all the obstacles. Śrī is an Aryan goddess of harvest, wealth, beauty and well-being, the very counterpart of Greek Demeter or Latin Ceres, but when she became associated with Vishṇu as Gaja Lakshmī[64] she also incorporated in her personality the pre-Aryan and indigenous elements. Zoomorphic divinities and the totemism of Proto-Australoids was now reinforced in the worship of Nāgas, trees and various animals. Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishṇu is partly Dravidian and partly Aryan as Suparṇa.[65]

Like Austric, the Dravidian language has also influenced Indo-Aryan to a large extent, perhaps more. As against hundred loan words of Austric, there are about four hundred fifty[66] of Dravidian in Sanskrit. In the same way many pre-Aryan myths and legends of gods and heroes, seem to have survived the Aryan impact and came to be incorporated in the Purāṇas, in the Mahābhārata and to some extent in the Ramāyaṇa also.[67]

Alpinoids, Dinarics and Armenoids

The people comprising Alpinoids, Dinaric and the Armenoids form the sub-group of one single type-Brachycephalic, who flourished in the central Asian mountain regions. Among them both Alpinoids and Dinaric seem to have spread over the greater part of India.[68]

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The Dinaric type is well marked in Bengal, Orissa, Kathiawar, Kannada and Tamil countries; in Coorg it appears in its purest form.[69] In Gujrat, the Alpinoid brachycephals show a greater predominance.[70] Broad headed elements are found along the west coast of India, except in the Malabar and Telegu countries. Early brachycephalic groups also established themselves in or passed through the Ganga Valley, leaving traces in Madhya Pradesh, Eastern U.P. and Bihar. Another line of migration is found along the Himalayas from Chitral and Gilgit to Western Nepal.[71] The last of this group allied to Armenoids are the Parsis of Bombay.[72]

The Aryans

The last to arrive in this list of immigrants were the Nordics or Aryans or more correctly an ethnic group speaking the Aryan language. The word 'ārya' in Sanskrit means 'free born' or of noble character. The theory about the original home of these people is fraught with controversy[73] but on the basis of philological evidence most of the scholars subscribe to the views that they lived in the Eurasian Steppe lands[74] and entered India somewhere in the middle of the second millennium B.C. They were the part of the same stock from which emerged Iranians, Mittanis, Hittites and Kassites.[75] The Nordic elements are strong in parts of the North West Frontier of India, particularly in the upper reaches of the Indus and along its tributaries the Swat, the Panjkora, the Kunnar and the Chitral rivers and in the South of the Hindu-Kush range.[76] In the Punjab, Rajasthan and Upper Ganga Valley Nordic elements are present although they are more mixed up with other racial elements in their eastern march.[77] Among certain sections elsewhere in India, the Nordic type predominates as in Chitpavan Brahmans of Maharashtra.[78] In their wanderings the Aryans had roamed into various lands and had come in contact with diverse people like the Egyptians, Sumerians, Babylonians and the Assyrians.[79] By the time they reached India their heritage was rich and diverse. Thus, began the period of the Ṛig Veda, one of the oldest and noblest book of mankind. The Nordics gave India their Aryan speech, which influenced and enriched by the already exsiting Austric and Dravidian languages in the country, crystalised

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into Sanskrit.[80] Once inside India, the Aryans got mixed up with the various races living here, though the process was slow and full of strife, imbibed their culture and religion, harmonizing it, with their own varied and rich heritage. The Aryans were a Semi-nomadic pastoral people, living in thatched huts and substing mainly on the produce of the cattle.[81] For sometime cattle rearing remained their main occupation. The cow was the measure of value and a very precious commoditiy. They were clever in the breeding of dogs and horses, the horse holding the place of pride.[82] The horse was essential to movement, to speed in war and to draw the chariots both of men and of gods. Gradually they settled in small village communities, in contrast to the cities of Harappa Culture, and took to agriculture[83] which had been the main economy of the pre-Aryan people living in India.

Contribution of the Aryans

The Aryans introduced a rudimentary administrative system with the king as the pivot. The king[84] was assisted by the court of the elders of the tribe and by the village head men. Even closer to him were two officers : the *purohita* or the chief priest and *Senānī* or military commander.[85]

The Aryans also evolved the institution of Varṇāśrama dividing the society in three social classes, the priests, the warriors or aristocracy and the common people, to which were added the vanquished as *dāsa*. This was a fluid social division where the places could be changed at convenience which later hardened into the rigid caste system.

The earliest religious ideas of the Aryans were those of primitive animism where the forces around them, which they could not control or understand, were invested with divinity and were personified as male and female gods and goddesses.[86] The important among them were Indra, the rain maker and victor over enemies; Agni, the god of fire; Sūrya (Sun); Varuṇa, the god of virtue and justice; and Yama the god of death.[87] The central feature of Aryan religious life was, however, sacrifice[89] which provided an important

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role to priests. The spirit of inquiry and philosophical attitude of the Aryans led to the composition of the Aryaṇkas and Upanishads, the storehouse of all philosophy.

The most significant contribution of the Aryans was in the sphere of social institutions, religion and philosophy. Many of the institutions of Indian life, specially Hindu, trace their origin to an Aryan beginning.

While these developments were taking place, there was a continuous but veiled conflict between the pre-Aryan and Aryan people, elements and culture.[89] Although the former were defeated in the end it did modify and changed the pattern of Aryan culture to a very great extent.[90] There was also inevitably at work the process of fusion between Aryan and non-Aryan by inter-marriage or alliance. Instances of such alliances are referred to in Bhārata war (C. 1400 B.C.) of ten Aryan Kings.[91] By their organization, imagination and adaptability, the Aryans succeeded in making a cultural synthesis which laid the foundation of the Hindu Civilization in India. The evidence discussed above clearly bears out the fact that the confrontation and interaction of these six main types of humanity, with the various ramifications, speaking three different languages—Austric, Dravidian and Aryan, having different life styles made up the Indian population and created the Indian Civilization. Kroeber has defined civilization as congeries of styles.[92] This civilization had taken its definite form by the middle of the lst millennum B.C. The genesis of Indian Civilization had taken place. All the other tribes entering India afterwards supplied it with the much needed out side stimulus which helped in its growth and development making it richer, deeper and stronger.

Archaeological Evidence

This fact that from the very beginning of history there has been a wide spread migration of people in India from the outside, who evolved a high degree of culture, in the pre-Aryan period can also be corroborated from archaeological evidence. Researches and excavations by *Aurel Stein, Beatrice de Cardi* in Central Baluchistan

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Jean Marie Casal in South Baluchistan, southern Afghanistan and south-west Baluchistan, *Walter A. Fairservis Jr.* in Zhob, Loralai, Southern Afghanistan, Seistan, south-west Sind and Las Bela; *F. A. Khan* at Kot Diji, Bhawalpur, *M.R. Mughal* in Northern Baluchistan and Sind; *R. L. Raikes* in Karachi, Southern Baluchistan and Sind; *A. Ghosh, B.B. Lal and B.K. Thapar* in Bikaner and northern India, *S.R. Rao* in Gujarat and *Dani in Gomal valley* have shown that right from the protohistoric and prehistoric periods people from Iran, Iraq[93] and Central Asia, especially from Turkemenia and Uzbekistan[94] have been coming to India, through Seistan and Afghanistan[95] and settling down in and around Baluchistan, Sind, Gomal Valley, Rajasthan and Kathiawar probably spreading up to the Ganga Valley too. Their cultures are represented by a number of sites such as *Mundigak, Quetta, Amri, Nal, Kulli. Kot Dijili, Mehi, Cabarkot, Periano Ghundai, Rana Ghundai, Zob, Loralai, Las Bela, Gumla, Kali bangan, Lothal, Mohenjodaro & Harappa and many others.* Here a high degree of culture was gradually being evolved beginning from the neolithic stage[96] and culminating in the fully developed, complex chalcolithic Harappa culture,[97] mainly represented by the sites of Harappa and Mohenjodaro. Once started, the progress was continuous[98] developing on almost a similar pattern through some regionalization[99] has been noticed especially in Quetta, Zhob, Loralai and Kulli cultures. It appears that the sub-continent was never really subjugated to a cultural vaccum. This whole period can be bracketed from C. 4000 B.C.[100] (which can be extended to 5th millennium) to 1800 or 1700 B.C.[101] In its earlier stages of development, the foreign or rather Iranian stage is very marked[102] which later on gave way to Indianization. The Harappan Culture is completely Indian in its character,[103] a latest phase in the long development. For the sake of convenience the entire development can be divided in five stages.[104] In the earliest stage people having domesticated cattle, sheep and goats and a limited cereal agriculture settled in the parts of Iranian border land, Afghanistan and Baluchistan. They possessed a flake blade, stone tool industry which included

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sickle blades and arrowheads. Pottery was hand made, often basket marked and in some cases crudely painted. Temporary and small houses were made of crude bricks.

In the next stage the houses were large and more substantial, made of mud brick and stone as well. Permanent village life is indicated. Ceramics was both hand made and wheelmade with painted motifs, ibexes, and humpless and humped bulls. Burials in or among the houses were complete with funerary equipment. This stage reflects influence from Northern Iran.

The third stage represents a large number of big villages in all the regions. This was the time of the maximum use of cultivable land. Massive stone dams were constructed for irrigation and storage of water. A wide variety of copper and bronze pins, knives and axes have been found. There is an extraordinary range of pottery forms, beautifully painted with a variety of designs though emphasis is on elaborate geometric forms. While there is still a lingering North Iranian influence, the process of Indianization appears to be fully underway represented by the pipal leaves, humped Brāhmī bulls, cobras, birds, fish motifs depicted on pottery. In this stage the farmers are indicated to have moved off the Iranian plateau into the alluvial plain of the Indus River Valley. In these first three stages of development termed as pre-Harappa Culture, there was wide spread and intensive contact and trade with Seistan and Central Asia.

This long and slow process of evolution gathered momentum in the end and resulted in the spectacular Indus Valley Civilization or the "Harappan Culture" as it has been more recently named. The Harappan Culture was not an "explosive evolution" but the latest phase in a long development.[105] The Harappa Culture was the most extensive of the ancient civilizations in area including not only Punjab and Sind but also northern Rajasthan and the region of Kathiawar in Western India. The main representative sites of Harappa Culture are Harappa and Rupar in Punjab, Mohenjodaro and Chanhudaro (in Sind), Dabarkot, Surkotada, Balakot (Baluchis-

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tan), Kalibangan (Rajasthan), Lothal and Rangpur (Gujarat), aud Alamgirpur (U.P.) but Mohenjodaro and Harappa are the most important. It was essentially a city culture with big buildings of various size and character and also residential quarters complete with bathrooms and an almost modern drainage system.[106] The florescene of Harappa culture was caused by the technology and the developed farming culture of an interacting population.[107] Added to this were the advantages of the Indus Valley, the rich soil and plenty of water.[108] It appears that Harappa Culture is fully Indianised though the roots are unquestionably Iranian.[109] The intensifying factor of this culture seems to be religion[110] represented by multifaced deties the yoga position, phallic worship, sacred cobras, mather goddess and cattle cults especially humped bull, ritual bathing, etc.

The cities in this period were maintained from surplus produce of the country,[111] judging by the elaborately constructed granaries in both the main cities i.e. Harappa and Mohenjodaro. Another source of income was the profit from the flourishing trade[112] both within the Northern and Western areas of the subcontinent[113] and between the people of this culture and those of Persian gulf and Mesopotamia.[114] The basis of the evidence of India's contact with contemporary civilization rests on many items, the most important being the seals. Seals of Indian style have been found in various Mesopotamian sites,[115] Kish, Lagash and Tell Asmara and Ur and an imprint of such a seal on the fragment of a clay label from a bale of cloth has also been noticed from Umma[116] (Mesopotamia). Many 'Persian gulf seals' have been discovered from Bahrin, Failaka and other ports the of the Persian gulf[117] as well as one each from Chanhudaro and Lothal.[118] Other such similar objects found both in Indian and Western countries are etched Carnelian beads[119] feeding cups with spouts projecting upwards the base, well known both in Mohenjodaro and at Ur[120] perforated vessels[121] many objects with shell work[122] stone beads with gold capping[123] many designs like figure of eight,[124] Swastika[125] clay toy animals on wheels[126], pieces of cubical dice,[127] little pottery figures of doves with outstretched wings and so on. Further there is also a written record of this trade. In the rich store of

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Sumerio-Akkadian Cuneiform documents from Mesopotamia there are sporadic but tantalizing references to distant lands, among which special importance, religious, economic and commercial has been attached to the lands of *Magan or Makkan. Meluhha* and *Dilmun* or *Tilmun* from 2400-1900 B.C.[128] Exact geographical identification of these lands is fraught with controversy[129] but generally Magan. Meluhea and Dilmun are taken to be the region of South Iran, West Pakistan and Indus Valley respectively. Whatever may be the correct identification, the texts indicate, howsoever indirectly, the existence of trade connections between the Harappan India and Sumer. This trade was both overland[130] and maritime[131]. The overland trade was conducted through Baluchistan, Elam and Susa[132] in which enterprising merchants of the Kulli Culture acted as middlemen.[133] For the sea borne trade, Lothal[134] at the Gulf of Cambay was an important harbour town of the Indus Valley and Ur[135] was the port of entry in Mesopotamia. It appears that in 3rd millennium B.C. there was a great deal of interaction between people of the Indus Valley and Western countries of Mesopotamia, Sumer and Babylon. These riverine civilizations suffered from the lack of natural raw material and natural resource.[136] For their development they had to depend on a considerable amount of trade and exploitation of the hinterland.[137] Just how intimate these contacts were and what was the mechanism of trade is an unknown factor. It might have been direct[138] or through middlemen[139] or through exchange.[140] Whatever the mechanism, the fact remains that trade was one of the important, motivating factor for the parallel but essentially distinctive rise toward the urban complexes in Mesopotamia, the Iranian high land and the later Harappan culture[141]. The last and fifth stage was the eclipse of the Harappan culture where bulk of the villages were abandoned and the big cities which continued to be occupied existed for sometime in an increasingly deteriorating condition.

The ethnic composition of the people involved in these various cultures was not identical. From the examination of the actual remains of skeletons and the representations in stone sculpture and bronze casting found in these sites it appears that more than one

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ethnic strain was present in the population.[142] They were proto-Australoid, Mediterraneans, presumably the main contributors of the agricultural and urban features of the whole of Western Indian prehistoric world and the short headed Alpine element and an occasional Mongoloid.[143] It was against this background of people and cultures of Indian prehistory that the Aryan speaking tribe arrived from the North West and contributed to the making of the Indian Civilization.

Aryans and Their Relation with the Outside World

After the coming of the Aryans, India's contacts with the outside world especially with Western and Central Asia, which were in the main responsible for the "elaboration" of the Harappan Culture were *limited*.[144] There are references in the Ṛig Veda to ships and sea voyages which cannot be imaginary. The West Asian maritime centres along the Persian Gulf might have attempted to retain as much of the Indian Trade from the time of the Harappan people as was possible. In all probability—the "royal linen" besides precious stones and cinnamon which were among the annual tribute of Punt to the Pharoh Ramses III (12th cent. BC) were obtained from India.[145] The cloth in which the Egyptians wrapped their mummies came from India.[146] Indigo wood, tamarind and other Indian goods have been found in Egyptian tombs.[147] There was no direct trade between India and Egypt;[148] perhaps they traded through Abyssinia and Somaliland[149] or most probably through Arabia.[150]

About the 13th cent. B.C. a great impetus was given to the Red Sea trade by the phonecians. According to the Jewish Chronicles[151] David Phonecians King of Judah, conquered important ports in the Red sea and formed an alliance with king of Tyre. David's son Solomon, jointly with his friend King of Tyre, sent a ship every third year to India[152] to bring gold, sandalwood, ivory, apes, peacocks, almug trees and precious stones. The port of trade in India was Ophir.[153] These articles must have been being imported from India because their Hebrew names can be easily traced to Indian originals. The Hebrew word for the ivory *Shen habbin* (elephants teeth) seems a literal translation of

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Sanskrit *Ibha-danta*,[154] Hebrew *almug* is Sanskrit *Valgu*,[155] *Koph*, is Sanskrit *Kapi*. Peacocks seem to have been imported from some South Indian port as the Hebrew word for it *thuki*, appears to be derived from the Tamil *tokei*.[156] Hebrew *Sadin*, Arabic *Satin* and Greek *Sindon* were used for Indian cotton cloth.[157] Hebrew *Karpas* and Greek *Karpas-os* are also derived from the Sanskrit Karpasa.[158] The Cotton trade of Indian is an old one, continuing unbroken from the time of at least the Harappa culture.[159] A tablet of Sennacherib (C. 700 B.C.) contains the oldest known reference to cotton as "wool bearing trees".[160] The word '*Sindhu*'[151] meaning cotton is found on the tablets of the library of the Assyrian King Asurbanipal (C. 627 B. C.).

On the Obelisk of Shalmanesar III, (859 B.C.) another King of Assyria are represented Indian elephants, apes and Bactrian camels.[162] In all likelihood these animals seem to have been imported from an old overland route passing through Makaran.[163] During this period the ports of Persian Gulf were the active and thriving certres of maritime trade.[164]

The ancient contacts and trade of Harappan India with Babylon appear to continue during this period also. In about 606 B.C Nebuchednezzer of Babylonia conquered Assyria. Indian cedar was used in his palace.[167] Indian teak was employed in the temple of moon at Mugheir[166] (Ur of Chaldeans) which was rebuilt by the same king. The presence of Indian merchants is referred to in the business records of the big firm of Murashu and Sons at Nippur.[167] It seems that there was a colony of Indian merchants at Babylon[168] and its counterpart an establishment of Babylonian merchants existed at Taxila.[169] These merchants were perhaps responsible for the introduction of the Babylonian style of marriage market, noticed by the followers of Alexander.[170]

The presence of some foreign words like *Āligī*, *Viligī*, *Taimāta Urugūla* and *Tabuya*[171] in the Atharvaveda[172] and the similarity of some legends like primeval floods in Babylonian stories and Satapatha Brahmana,[173] the importance of magic sorcery and demonology in the mythology of both the countries,[174] indicate close contacts between these countries during the Vedic period.[175] These contacts must

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have been the result of Commercial intercourse between India and Babylon. The Panis of Rig Veda were either Phonecian[176] or non-Aryan Dasyus.[177] Trade was their monopoly in the Rig Vedic period.[178]

Coming to the Buddhist period, the existence of a regular sea trade between India and Babylon through the Persian gulf and Red Sea has been indicated by the evidence of Baverū,[179] Suppāraka,[180] Śaṅkha and Mahājanaka,[181] Jatakas.[182] The sea-faring merchants took direction finding (Diśā laksha) birds with them. The main items of import were precious stones, timber, birds and spices.

The above evidence indicates continued commercial relations with Western Asia, even after the coming of the Aryans, but the density of trade seems to have been considerably reduced.[183] It is very likely that trade during this period was confined to the coastal towns, and had not made any significant impact on the Aryan economy.[184] The less advanced technology of the Aryans had a restrictive influence and tended to confine the possibility of trade to local areas.[185]

Indian Civilization—Genesis and Development

The birth of Indian Civilization was caused by the interaction of the above mentioned ethnic groups entering India from time to time. Naturally they brought with them some foreign influence from the place of their origin but soon they were absorbed and accommodated in a new totality which was inherently Indian.[186]

The next stage in the history of Indian Civilization was a period of assimilation and entrenchment when the essential social insitutions, basic political organizations, commercial and economic etsablishments, main ideological and philosophical development were shaped, a period roughly from about 1500 BC to 600 BC. Coming to the end of the period, civilization was tending to be static, rigid in its ideas and conservative in outlook. For the continued development of Indian Civilization, a fresh stimulus, contact with a new outlook and values was needed. The revolutionary teachings of Jainism and especially Buddhism which defied the old values were

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clear indications of this need for change in the outlook.[187] This stimulus or challenge materialized in the form of the Persian invasion under Cyrus and Darius I in 6th Cent B.C. Before mentioning the Persian interaction, it is necessary to bring out the essential difference in the character of the migration of people in the prehistoric and historic period. In the most remote period these were the slow but persistent movement of a whole tribe or the collection of tribes, but later on they were mostly organized expeditions of armed men.[188] The former permanently influenced the racial conditions of the country but the influence of the latter was more political and social rather than racial.[189] Now reverting back to the original theme, the Achaemenian kings of Persia, Cyrus and Darius I invaded India and annexed some parts of North West India to their empire. Besides introducing new traits and trends in the field of script, language, art and social life, from its rich West Asian heritage, the Persian contact introduced India to the Western world especially to Greece.

On its heel followed the short Hellenic intrusion in the wake of Alexander's invasion of India. After an interval of about ninety years the impact of Hellenic civilization was intensified by the Indo-Greek princes who conquerred and ruled the North-Western part of India for about two centuries. The Gandhāra Art, and an all round development in almost all the branches of knowledge was the immediate effect of this interaction.

Next followed the Śakas & Parthians—the inheritors of Iranian and Hellenic civilization, who propagated and intensified what Greeks had initially introduced in the country. The Śakas were followed by the Kushāṇas who made India a world power and opened up new trade routes. Consequently diverse and new currents and cross currents of ideas gave birth to Mahāyāna Buddism. This new form of the Buddhist religion, Hellenic inspired Gandhāra Art, Hindu Art and Indian Social institutions broke new grounds carrying Indian Civilization up to modern Kampuchia, South Vietnam and South East Asia.

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The story of India, drawing nations and peoples to the wealth of its harvest does not however end here, but it continues down to the 18th century. The Kushāṇas were followed by the Abhiras. The Hūṇas were another unit that came to stay in India in and around the 5th Cent. A.D. Myriads of tribes found their way to India until the advent of a great force viz. that of Islam, which was not entirely to be lost in the currents of Indian Culture but built up its own after conquering the Sind and the Punjab. In its wake came the Arabs, the Turks, the Pathāns, the Mughals all adding their strength and singularity to the fabric and pattern of Indian Culture. The last to come were the Europeans by the sea route. Prominent among them were the English who carried their impact down to the very roots of Indian Culture. But the details of the stimulus and impact made by the tribes following the Kushāṇas does not fall within the purview of this study. For the former, up till the Kushāṇas we would revert to the various facets of their impact one by one in greater detail in the pages to follow.

The, tribes with which we are concerned are the, Persians, Greeks, Śaka, the Pahalvas and the Kushāṇas. Each tribe was motivated to leave its homeland for different objects which moulded its behavioral pattern accordingly. The Persians and the Greeks came for purely imperialistic designs. Their primary aim was political expansionism and carving out new principalities for themselves. The fact that they, especially the Greeks stayed in India and in the course of time became an integral part of its social frame work was of secondary importance to them. On the other hand, the Śakas, the Pahalvas and the Kushāṇas, who were forced to leave their original habitat as the result of constant clashes with a martially superior force, the Hiung-Nu, came in search of a permanent home which they ultimately found. They settled down in their adopted land, accepted everything Indian yet at the same time contributed to the fabric of Indian Civilization in a big way.

Whatever might have been the objective of these incoming tribes, they with their different languages, social traditions, outlook,

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diverse religions and philosophic ideas, did pose a potent challenge to the established civilization of India. The Indian response to this challange was a positive one, assimilation and absorption. She absorbed the new ideas, adapted the alien virtues and harmonized all the contradictions that came in her way, and fully assimilated them. This creative reaction has provided Indian Civilization with vitality, diversity and continuity down the ages.

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37. *Ibid.*
38. *Przyluski—Pre-Aryan & Pre-Dravidian in India (Introduction) P. XIII.*
39. These stories and legends, according to Przyluski were conceived by societies living near the sea, societies of which the civilization and social organization were different from those of the neighbouring peoples, the Chinese and the Indo-Aryans. Przyluski, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India (Intd.) p. XIII.
40. Chatterjee S.K.; "Non-Aryan elements in Indo-Aryan" JGIS II p. 46.
41. Przyluski *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India (Introduction) p. XVIII.*
42. *Ibid., Mukerji. Hindu Civilization p. 34.*
43. Przyluski, *op. cit.* Mukerji *op. cit.*
44. Przyluski, *op. cited;* pp. XI, XII & 4. 5.
45. *Przyluski, op. cited; pp 4 and 28 Chatterjee in the History and Culture of the Indian People* (ed. Majumdar R.C.) Vol. I,pp. 149-50.)
46. Chatterjee S.K. *The History & Culture of the Indian* People (ed. R.C. Majumdar) Vol. I p. 167, *Buddha Prakash-India* and the world 1924 p. 144.
47. Przyluski; *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* pp. 63-83.
47. *Ibid.* pp. 47-58.
48. *Ibid.* pp. 47-48.
49. *Chatterjee—The History & Culture* of the *Indian People* Vol. I, p. 156.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 154 Thapar Romila *History* of India Vol. I p. 33.
51. Chatterjee S.K. "Dravidian Origins and the Beginnings of Indian Civilization" p. 678; Upadhyaya; *The Feeders of Indian Culture* p. 12.
52. Kosambi, D D—The Culture and Civilization of *Ancient India in Historical* Outline p. 60; Thapaliyal, K.K. and Shukla, S.P.—*Sindhu-Sabhyaṭa* pp. 139-142 Marshal—*Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization Vol. I pp. 52-53.*
53. Przyluski—*Pre-Aryan & Pre-Dravidian in India* pp. 8-10.
54. Marshall— *op. cit.* p. 51.
55. *James E.O.—The Cult of Mother Goddess.* p. 11; *Cambridge Ancient History Vol I* p. 91.
56. *Ibid.*
57. Chatterjee—*The History and Culture of the Indian People* Vol. I, 161.
58. Kosambi D D-The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in *Historical* Outline p. 66. Srinivas P.T. Aiyangar—*Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture.* p. 59.
59. *Ibid;* Pargiter F E, "Vṛṣakapi and Hanumant" J. RAS. 1913 p. 400.
60. *Srinivasa P.T. Aiyangar, Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture* p. 59.
61. Rig Veda X 86.

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62. Chatterji S.K.—*Dravidian Origins and the Beginnings of Indian Civilization*, p. 680; Srinivasan Aiyangar; *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, p. 126 ff.
63. Aiyangar—*op. cit.*
64. Aiyangar *op. cit.*, p. 126; Chatterjee—*op. cit.* p. 680.
65. Chatterjee—*The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. I*, p. 163; *Upadhyaya* Feeders *of Indian Culture*. p. 18.
66. Przyluski; *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 35-59.
67. According to S.K. Chatterjee the Rāma legend looks like a blend of three different stories without any historicity put together at different times—the Ayodhya intrigue and the banishment of Rāma, the abduction of Sitā and the episode of the monkey princes, and seems to have grown up in Eastern India, with an Austric background, but later it was re-edited as the national poem within the framework of the composite and highly complex Hindu Civilization of 2,000 years ago. *The History, and Culture of Indian People* Vol. I pp. 165-66.
68. Guha B.S.; "Racial Elements in Hindu Population" pp. 40-45.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*
73. One view is that the Aryans as, Indo-Europeans, originally lived as a single ethnic group somewhere in the planes of Northern Europe. (Penka's theory quoted by *Gordon Childe in The Aryans* p. 166 also *P. Giles in Cambridge Ancient History Vol. I* p. 61.) There is another theory which connects the *Aryans* with Central Asia in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea. Tilak maintained that the Arctic region was the original home of the Aryans (*The Arctic Home in the Vedas* pp. 34-36). A.C. Das holds the view that it was the origin of Sapta Sindhu (*Rig-Vedic India* pp. 8-9). But none of these theories are sound enough to *satisfy* all the tests—linguistic, archeological, geographical and astronomical.

    Recent studies have shown that so far there is no definite evidence to connect the Vedic Aryans with the people of any country outside India. In fact archeologists are not sure about the remains which could definitely be ascribed to the early Vedic Aryans even within the boundaries of India. Thapar : "The Aryans : A Reappraisal of the Problems" *ICWTC* p. 161.
74. Chatterjee S.K.—*The History and Culture of the Indian* people Vol., p. 205; *Rapson. Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. p. 58.
75. Mukerji—*Hindu Civilization*. p. 66; Kosambi. D.D. above cited pp. 72-73 *Upadhyaya— The Feeders* of Indian Culture p. 11.
76. Guha B.S., Racial Elements in Hindu population," pp. 26-27; *Chatterjee in The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. I, p. 144.

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77. Guha *op. cit.*, Chatterjee *op. cit.*
78. Chatterjee; *op. cit.*
79. Upadhyaya B.S.; *The Feeders of Indian Culture* p. 12.
80. Prezyluski ; *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* pp. 37-40 ; *Mukerji. Hindu Civilization* p. 73.
81. G.S. Ghurye, *Vedic India.* p. 4. *Thapar Romila* ; *A History of India.* p. 34; *V.M. Apte in the History & Culture of the Indian People*, (ed R.C. Majumdar) Vol. I, p. 395 *op. cit.*
82. Mukerji R.K. *op. cited*, p. 75 ; *Thapar Romila. A History of India* Vol. I. p. 35. Kosambi, D.D. *op. cit.* p. 76. G.S. Ghurye *op. cit.*, p. 31.
83. Mukerji : *Hindu Civilization.* p. 73; *Cambridge History of India.* p. 135: *V.M. Apte* in The History and Culture of Indian People, (ed. Majumdar) Vol. I. p. 394.
84. *Cambridge History of India*, p. 130; V.M. Apte. *above cited* p. 352.
85. *Apte op. cit.* pp. 354-55: *Cambridge History of India* pp. 131-32, Mukerji *op. cited.*, pp. 80-81.
86. Mukerji R.K., *Hindu Civilization*, pp. 86-87. V.M. Apte, *op. cited*, pp. 360-61.
87. Mukerji R.K. *Hindu Civilization* pp. 86, 87; Apte in *The History and Culture of the Indian people* Vol. I, pp. 362-76.
88. Mukerji R.K.; *op. cit.*; p. 86; Apte. *The History and Culture of the Indian people.* Vol. I, p. 377. Kosambi, D.D. The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical outline pp. 77 & 81.
89. Mukerji *op. cit.*, p. 70; Apte *op. cit.* p. 313. *Thapar Romila 'A History of India'* Vol. I. p. 49; Kosambi, *Ibid.*
90. Chatterjee S.K. Non-Aryan Elements in Indo-Aryans JGIS II, p. 45, 68, 69.
91. The non-Aryan Kings were Ajas, Sigrus, Yakshus and Simyu forming a Coilition led by their leader Bheda. *Mukherji—Hindu Civilization* pp. 68, 69. Kosambi D.D. *op. cit.* pp. 89, 90.
92. *Kroeber, A.L.; Style and Civilization cited in Ancient Cities of the Indus* (ed. Gregory Possehl)
93. Fairservir Jr.; "The Origin, Character and Decline of an early Civilization"—Ancient Cities of Indus (ed. Gregors L. Possehl) p. 68.
94. *Ibid* , p. 76; Gupta S.P.; "Prehistoric Indian Culture in Soviet Central Asia" ICWTC pp. 239-248.
95. Fairservis Jr. *op. cited.*, Mughal, "*The Early Harappan period in the greater Indus Valley & Northern Baluchistan;*" Dales F. George; "Archeological & Radio Carbon Cronologies for Prehistoric South Asia", Ancient Cities of the Indus, pp. 334-337.
96. Fairservis Jr. *The Origin, Character and Decline of an Early Civilization* p. 68; Khan; *Indus Valley and Early* Iran 1964, pp. 41-54.
97. Mughal; "Present State of Research on the Indus Valley Civilization"

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98. Fairservis Jr. *Ibid.* p. 95.
99. *Piggot-Prehistoric India* p. 72.
100. Agarwal & Kusumgar; *Prehistoric Cronology and Radio Carbon dating in India*, pp. 79-87 Dales; "Archaeological and Radio Carbon Cronologies for Protohistoric South Asia" South Asian Archaeology 1973 pp. 157-170.
101. *Piggot-Prehistoric* India pp. 244-248, *Wheeler-Indus Civilization* 1953, p. 89 Wheeler and Piggot advocate C. 1500 B.C. as the date of the end of Indus Valley Civilization but recent scholars like Gregory L. Passehl and Dales fix it about 1800, 1700 B.C. if not earlier, *Possehl—Ancient Cities of Indus* (*Editors Introduction*) p. 287, Dales—"The Decline of the Harappans" Ancient Cities of Indus, p. 308.
102. *Allachin & Allachin—The Birth of Indian Civilization* pp. 104-106; Fairservis Jr. "The Origin, Character and Decline of an early civilization" Ancient Cities of Indus (ed. Possehl G.L.) p. 70.
103. Fairservis Jr. "The Harappan Civilization Ancient Cities of India, p. 65; J. Gordon Childe, New Light on the Most Ancient East, pp. 183 ff.
104. Fairservis Jr. "The Origin, Character and Decline of an early Civilization." Ancient Cities of Indus (ed. Gregory Possehl) pp. 68-75.
105. *Childe, New light on the most Ancient East* p. 183 ff.
106. According to Fairservis Jr.—The drains may be considered as a part of a ritual complex. Anyway the elaborate and effeciently planned sewage system was an important Harappan contribution to the world. "The Harappan Civilization—New Evidence and More theory"—Ancient Cities of Indus, p. 51.
107. Fairservis Jr.; "The Origin, Character and Decline of an Early Civilization"—Ancient Cities of Indus pp. 88; *Allichin & Allichin—The Birth of Civilization*, pp. 106.
108. Fairservis Jr.—"The Origin, Character and Decline of an Early Civilization" pp. 88-89. Foirservis Jr.—*The Roots of Ancient Indus pp. 221-22.*
109. Fairservis Jr. *Ibid*; Fairservis Jr.—"The Harappan Civilization, New Evidence & More Theory—"Ancient Cities of Indus p. 65,
Wheeler is of the opinion that Indus Valley Civilization stemmed from direct contact with Sumer (*Early India & Pakistan* p. 104). This theory was earlier proposed by Mackay (*Further Excavation at Mohenjodaro* Vol. II p. 344) and Gadd.
110. Fairservis Jr. "The Origin, Character & Decline of an Early Ancient Civilization" p. 78; Fairservis Jr.—"The Harappan Civilization; New Evidence & More theory" pp. 61, 63.
111. Piggot S.—*Prehistoric India*, p. 134 & 154; Fairservis Jr. The Roots of *Ancient* India p. 223.
112. Mughal M.R. "The Present state of Research in the Indus Valley Civilization" Ancient Cities of Indus—p. 96; Piggot—*Prehistoric India*, p. 174; Gordon

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Childe New Light on the Most Ancient East, p. 191. Thaplyal, K.K., Shukla, S.P. *Sindhu Sabhyata* pp. 170-77, pp. 237-38; Kosambi, D.D of p. 78.

113. Piggot—*op. cit.*, p. 174; Prakash Charan Prasad—*Foreign Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, p. 141. Thaplyal & Shukla-*Ibid.* Kosambi-*Ibid.*
114. Piggot *op. cited*; p. 177; Mackay E.J.H. "Further Links between Ancient Sind Sumer & Elsewhere" Antiquity Vol. V 1931 pp. 459-437.
115. Gadd C.J.; Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur; Ancient Cities of Indus, p. 115.
116. *Ibid.*
117. Gadd C.J. *op. cit.*, Mughal—"Present State of Research on the Indus Valley Civilization", Ancient Cities of Indus, p. 96.
118. Rao, "Persian Gulf Seals from Lothal", Antiquity Vol. 37 1963 pp. 96-99; Fair Rervis Jr. The Roots of Anc. India p. 232; Thaplyal & Shukla—*op. cit.* pp. 238 & 297.
119. Mackay, "Further Links between Ancient Sind Sumer and Elsewhere" Antiquity Vol. 5, 1931 pp. 459-473. Perhaps Persia was the source which exported to both Sumer and India, Both Chanhudaro and Lothal have evidence of a local bead making industry.
120. Mackay, *op. cited.* Marshal, *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization* pl. 83 pp. 20 ff.
121. Marshall *op. cited.* pl. 83 pp. 3-18; Mackay *op. cit.*
122. Marshall *op. cited.* pp. 26-29, Mackay *op. cited.*
123. Marshall *op. cited.* pl. 149.
124. Mackay *op. cited.*
125. Mackay *op. cited.*
126. *Mackay ASARI 1929 pp. 3 ff*; Marshall *op. cited.* pl. 153 pp. 24 ff.
127. George Dales, "Of Dice and Men," Ancient Cities of Indus pp. 138-143.
128. Oppenheim Leo A.—"The Sea faring Merchants of Ur." JAOS Vol. 74 1954 pp 6-17; Leemons W.F. "Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period" JESHO Vol. II p. 159.
129. Dilmun has been identified as Bahrin island by *Cornwell* B. Peter (On the location of Dilmun BASOR No. 103, 1946 pp. 3-11) and with the Indus Valley by *Sammul Kramer* ("The Indus Civilization and Dilmun'. The Sumerian Paradise Land," Ancient Cities of the Indus, pp. 168-173). As for Meluhha, it is identified mostly with some region of the sub-continent either as West Pakistan by *Dales George* (of Dice & Men-Ancient cities of Indus p. 139) or as the Indus Valley by *Gregory Possehl* (Editors Introduction) in Ancient Cities of Indus p. 154). However *Romila Thapar* has identified all the these with India ("A Possible identification of Meluhha Dilmun & Makan J.E. SHO Vol. 18 pp. 1-42)
130. Piggot – *Prehistoric India* pp. 177-70 & 210.

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131. S.R. Rao – "Contacts between Lothal & Susa" Ancient cities of India pp. 174, 175; Gregory Possehl (Editor's Introduction) Ancient Cities of Indus pp. 154.
132. *Piggot. op. cited.*, p.118.
133. *Ibid*; *Motichandra, Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India* p. 30.
134. Rao S.R. "Shipping in Ancient India" ICWTC pp. 88-90.
135. Oppenheim Leo, "The Seafaring Merchants of Ur." JAOS Vol. 14, 1954 pp. 6-17.
136. Dales; 'Of Dice and Men'—Ancient Cities of Indus, p. 139.
137. *Ibid.*

Ancient Cities of Indus (ed. George L. Possehl) pp. 90-95, Fairservis Jr. "The Harappan Civilization New Evidence and More Theory" Ancient Cities of Indus p. 53.
138. Piggot—*Prehistoric India pp 175-177*—. He suggested the possibility of Indian merchants going to Sumer and Elam for trade and having settled in colonies there; Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*—p. 191.
139. Dales; "Of Dice & Men"—Ancient Cities of Indus, p. 138; Piggot *Prehistoric India*, p. 118.
140. Lamberg Karlovsky—"Trade Mechanism in Indus Mesopotamian Interrelation." JAOS, Vol. 92 No. 2, 1972 pp. 227-28.
141. *Ibid.* 230; Fairservis Jr. "The Origin, Character and Decline of an Early Civilization"—Ancient Cities of Indus pp. 75-76.
142. *Piggot, Prehistoric India p. 145*; *Mitra* Debala, "Foreign Elements in Indian Population" *The Cultural Heritage of India Vol. II* pp. 610-11.
143. *Piggot op. cit.* Mitra Debala *op. cit.*
144. Rawlinson H. G., *Intercourse between India and the Western World* p. 13; Thapar Romila. *A History of India* p. 36.
145. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians, Vol. II*, p. 236, vide *Mookerji R.K., Shipping in Ancient India*, p. 91.
146. Kennedy, "The Early Commerce of Babylonia with India" JRAS 1898, pp. 250-51.
147. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians, Vol. II, p. 237 vide* Mookerji; *Indian Shipping*, p.91.
148. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World.* p. 10
149. Iyangar, "The Trade of India" I.H.Q. Vol. II "India's Contact with Africa from the Earliest Times ICWTC p. 603.
150. Rawlinson, *op. cited.* p. 10.
151. Chronicles IX, 21.
152. Rowlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*", p. 10.
153. There is lot of speculation about the location of Ophir through it must have been a port somewhere on the Western coast of India, *Rawlinson* "Foreign Influence in the Civilization of Ancient India" JBBRAS. Vol. 23, p. 211. Ophir

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was so famous for its gold that the expression gold of Ophir became proverbial in Hebrew.

154. *Rawlinson above cited* p. 218; Iyengar "The Trade of India IHQ Vol. II 1926, p. 40.
155. Rawlinson *Ibid*; Iyengar; *Ibid.*
156. *Ibid.*
157. Iyengar, "The Trade of India" p. 40.
158. Rawlinson—*Intercourse between India and the Western World*, p. 3; Iyengar—"The Trade of India" IHQ Vol.II 1926 p. 40.
159. *Piggot. Prehistoric India*, p. 141.
160. Rawlinson; "*Intercourse between India and the Western World*, pp. 2, 3.
161. *Ibid.*
162. *Ibid.* pp. 3, 4.
163. Moti Chandra, *Trade & Trade Routes in Ancient India* p. 29.
164. Schoff *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, pp. 123-110.
165. Kennedy J; "The Early Commerce of Babylon with India," IRAS 1893 p. 286.
166. *Ibid*; Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World* p. 3.
167. Iyengar, "The Trade of India" IHQ Vol. II 1926.
168. Kennedy, "The Gospels of Infancy, the Lalitvistar and the Vishnu Purana: or the transmission of the Religious legends between India and the West" JRAS 1917, p. 237.
169. Rawlinson *op. cit.* p. 7.
170, *Strabo* XV. I. 61.
171. Agrawala, 'Some foreign Words in Ancient Sanskrit Literature, IHQ Vol. 27 1951. 2; Upadhyaya, *Feeders of Indian Culture* pp. 14, 15.
172. Atharvaveda V, 13, 6, 7, 8, 10.
173. Jairazbhoy, *Foreign Influence in Ancient India* pp. 34-35; Rawlinson, "Foreign Influences in the Civilization of Ancient India" JBBARS Vol. 23 1914 p. 221.
174. *Ibid.*
175. Rawlinson *op. cited.* p. 222; Upadhyaya, *Feeders of Indian Culture* I, 7 p. 21.
176. Moti Chandra, *Trade and trade routes in Ancient India* p. 43.
177. *Rig Veda*, II-2, 49; VII –1, 6.3. *Moti Chandra op. cit. Trade*; Prakash Chandra Prakash *Foreign Trade and Commerce in Ahncient India*, pp. 21.
178. *Rig Veda* III. 183: I. 1165; *Atharvaveda* III 15. 4. 6.
179. Jataka 339.
180. Jataka 463.
181. Jataka 539.
182. Matichandra *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India* pp.58-64; Prakash Chandra Prakash *Foreign Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, pp. 35-36;

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Kennedy "The Early Commerce of Babylon with India" JRAS 1898, p. 268.

183. Ralinson—*Intercourse between India* and the Western World p. 13.
184. *Ibid*; Thapar Romila. *A History of India* p. 36.
185. Thapar Romila *op. cited.*
186. Malik S.C.; *Indian Civilization. The Formative period* pp. 60.ff.
187. Toynbee—*Mankind and Mother Earth*, p. 179.
188. *Cambridge History of India*, p. 138.
189. *Ibid.*

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CHAPTER TWO

The Persian Challenge and Indian Response

While in its earliest phase of Indian Civilization the centre of gravity was the north west part of the subcontinent,[1] from the time of Buddha and Mahāvīr, in about 6th cent B.C. it gradually shifted to the east,[2] with the centre comprising the region watered by the rivers Ganga, Ghaghra and Son. Politically this area was divided into a number of warring sovereign states, Magadha being the strongest potentially.

The rulers of Magadh, right from Bimbasāra; started a policy of expansionism which resulted in the political integration of the country. Smaller states were assimilated in the great Magadhan Empire which extended up to the Punjab in the West. It was at this time that the North West part of the country was being conquered and annexed by the Achaemenian Kings of Persia. Cyrus II (558-530 B.C.) annexed the basin of the Kabul river, a tributary of the Indus; Darius I annexed the rest of the delta by (C) 518 B.C. Now there occurred a direct confrontation between the first Persian Empire and the Indic world.

The Contact between India and Iran—Earliest times

The contact between India and Iran existed even during the prehistoric times. This is indicated by the similarity of their pottery motifs and finds of identical object in both the countries, as has been already discussed in the previous Chapter. But the close affinity between Indian and Iranian culture dates back to the time when the undivided Indo-Iranian Aryans were living in their common home Eranvej[3], (Airyana—Vaejo, the Aryan home) the land of the two rivers, Vahvi Datiya and Ranha (Oxus and Jaxartes). It seems most likely that they lived there for quite some time, because

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it was in this land that a particular Indo-Iranian culture evolved.[4] From here they drifted towards their respective countries which they occupied in historic times and developed their distinctive civilizations.

Vedic Period: Vedas and Avesta

It is, however, surprising that cultural links between pre-Aryan India and Iran should have been severed rather than strengthened after the Aryan migration into India,[5] but a comparative study of the Avesta and the Rigveda points to their close affinity in religious beliefs, manners and customs. Even Vedic Sanskrit closely resembles the language of the Avesta, and there is astonishing similarity in the vocabulary, grammar, syntax and meter of the two.[6] It is sometimes said that probably the name Avesta is derived from the Sanskrit word '*Upastha*'[7] which is synonym for Vedic studies. The Sanskrit words *Veda*, *Mantra*, *Śruti*, *Amnyasa* and *Chhanḍas* correspond to the Avestan words—*Mathra*, *Prasruti*, *Menai* and *Zend* respectively.[8] The resemblance between the two languages is so close that many passages from Rigveda and the Avesta can be read the same with little phonological modifications here and there.[9]

There is also a striking resemblance between the Vedic pantheon and the gods and goddesses of the Avesta. Conceptually the Vedic Varuna and the Avestan deity Ahurmazda are the same.[10] The Iranian sungod Mithra closely resembles the Vedic Mitra. Both of them provide light like the Sun and the Moon,[11] and both are described as driving chariots with immortal horse.[12] Another point of similarity between these gods is that they are said to have spies who inform them about contract breakers, who are afterwards punished.[13] In the Veda, Yama son of Vivasvat, rules the dead and in the Avesta Yima, the son of Vivanhant, is the king of Paradise. The Vedic god of rain, Indra Vritra-han is similar to the Avestan Verethraghana.[14] His weapon Vajra is also not very different from the ones weilded by the middle eastern storms gods, and the concept seems to be the same.[15] The similarity between the Vedic Ushas and the Avestan Ushah,[16]

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the Vedic Nāsatyas and the Avestan Naunghastya, Vedic and Avestic Gandharvas,[17] the identical use of their sacred drink Soma and Haoma,[18] in their respective religious rites is striking.

In the earliest stages animistic nature worship of the gods was the common phenomena of both the religions,[19] but later on under the influence of Zoroastrianism there was a tendency towards spiritual monotheism represented by the abstract deity *Ṛta* in the Veda and *Aṣa* in the Avesta,[20] who was the supreme lord of the cosmic order and moral law of the universe.

Apart from the common divinities of the Avesta and the Rigveda there were also certain similar religious practices in both, such as ancestor worship,[21] Upanayana ceremony of the Vedic Aryans and Navjote ceremony of the Iranians,[22] the use of a certain type of grass '*Kush*' of the Vedic people and '*Baresma*' of the Iranians and certain other rites and rituals.[23]

The study of the Vedic literature[24] shows that the Vedic Aryans had contacts with the outside world and there are scattered references which indicate their knowledge of Iran in the broad sense. The names of the rivers like *Kubhā* (Kabul) and *Krumu*[25] (Kurrum), the references like *Prithus* and *Parsus* which may be identified with 'Parthians and Persians[26] can be taken to show the connection of the by gone days. Thus, 'Bāhlika', referred to in Atharvaveda and Satapatha Brāhmana, may be easily indentified with the ancient Iranian tribe of the Bactrians especially because it has been mentioned in connection with Mujavanta.[27] It is significant that the ancient literature of Iran also mentioned India. The name for India in Avesta is *Hindu*, referred to at four places in the Avesta. Venidad also contains important references to India. There is a description of sixteen fine places and '*Hapta Hindu*' is the fifteenth of them. '*Hapta Hindu*' is identified with Sapta Sindhu of theVedas which refers to the Punjab region.[28] Perhaps the Hindu Kush range has been referred to in the Avesta as '*Us-Hindav*,' situated in the middle of the mythical sea Vouru-Kasha and is described as the gathering place of fog and clouds. The meaning of Us-Hindav is beyond India. Apart from all these affinities discussed

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above, the geographical contacts can well be imagined due to the propinquity of the two lands which were contiguous. The area lying between modern Iran and India, comprising parts of West Pakistan and Afghanistan, was always a point of contact between them, in antiquity. This was like a common land where, both the countries tried to extend their powers but Persia was, by and large, the more aggresive of the two.

Contact in the Historical Period Cyrus II

The evidence cited above shows close contact between India and Iran in ancient times but the real evidence of political and cultural intercourse comes to light only with the rise of the Achaemenians in Iran in the 6th Cent. B.C. This is a period which is particularly relevant to our study. Cyrus II (558-530 BC) beginning from a small state of Anshan in Iran, conquered the kingdoms of Media, Lydia, Babylon Phoenecia, Asiatic Greeks and Egypt in the west and the land stretching from the Oxus to the Indus in the east,[30] and laid the foundation of the first big Persian Empire. This empire extended from southern Russia to the Catracts of the Nile and from the Danube to the Indus. Persia was the largest political organisation of pre-Roman antiquity.[31]

Although no conclusive evidence is available to establish the fact of Cyrus's conquest of India yet several fragmentary references occurring in the various accounts given by the classical writers amply suggest that certain pockets around the North West border of India positively came under his control or his sphere of influence.

To begin with Herodotus states[32] that Cyrus in person subjugated the upper regions of Asia (contrasted with the regions of Asia Minor subjugated by Cyrus through his general Harpagus)[33] and conquered every nation without passing one by. This is a vague statement and any conquest of North West India cannot be inferred from it, although it is a fact that Cyrus personally conducted many campaigns in East Asia and conquered most of the parts[34] of Eastern Iran and especially Bactria. It is generally held that the eastern conquest of Cyrus included the districts of Drangiāna (Seistan), Sattagydi[35] and Gandarities. Ctesias[36], the physician to the Persian Court, refers to the death of Cyrus as caused by a wound inflicted by an Indian soldier when Indians were fighting from the side of Derbikes,[37] east

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of the Caspian Sea and supplied them elephants. It is certain that Cyrus died of fighting but his death in this way has been contradicted by Herodotus[38] and Xenophon.[39]

According to Xenophon[40] again, Cyrus 'brought under his rule Bactrians and Indians as forming a part of his vast empire'. He further states that Cyrus after reducing Babylon started a campaign in which he subjugated all the nations from Syria to the Erythrean Sea (Indian Ocean) and the Erythrean Sea bounded the empire of Cyrus on the east. He also mentions that an embassy brought tribute to him from an Indian King (which he used in espionage in a war against Croesus King of Lydia). It indicates that Cyrus had at least some sort of suzeranity if not actual control over some portion of North India and he was in a position to ask for a tribute from an Indian King.[41]

According to the statement of Pliny[42] Cyrus destroyed, Kapiśā a city in the upper region of Hindukush. If, Arrian[43] is to be believed "the Indians between the Kabul river and Sindhu were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, then Medes and finally to the Persians and paid Cyrus, the tribute he imposed on them". Cyrus seems to have made an attempt to subjugate India since Nearchus[44] (as reported by Arrian) says that the Gedrosia desert came in his way of conquest and his whole army perished. But at some other place Arrian[45] denies that Cyrus invaded India though he marched against the Scythians.

Megasthenes,[46] quoted by Strabo says that Indians were never attacked and conquered by any foreign power before Alexander except by Herakles and Dionysus. He further informs us that though Cyrus hired mercenary troops from India namely Hydrakes,[47] he did not make any expedition in the country. Judging from the account of both Nearchus and Megasthenes Cyrus never reached India but for these classical writers Indus is the western boundary of India and in all probability the advance of Cyrus was confined to the West of the Indus. The fact, gleaned from the different views discussed here, seems that Cyrus did undertake a campaign in the territories now known as Afghanistan and Baluchistan.[48] His conquest anyhow, was

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confined to the land of Hindukush and Kabul valley especially to the region of Gandhāra and he did not advance up to the Indus.

The son and successor of Cyrus was Cambyses (530-522 BC). From the beginning of his reign he was much too occupied in suppressing the revolt of his kingdom and his Egyptian campaigns which left him no time for India during his short tenure as the King of Iran.

Darius I

For the reign of his successor Darius I (522-486 BC) there is plenty of documentary evidence of his numerous inscriptions, in regard to the extent of his control on the parts of India.

1. Behistun inscription of the column No. 1.[49] (520-518 BC). Here Darius enumerates twenty-three of his provinces including Gadara and Śatagu.
2. Persepolis wall[50] inscription (518-515 BC) mentions Gadara Śatagu and adds Hidu also among the provinces of Darius.
3. Gold and Silver Plate inscription at Persepolis[51] C 518-515 BC) describes the kingdom of Darius extending from the lands of the Scythians beyond Sogdians to Ethiopia and from Hidu to Sardis.
4. Naksh-i-Rustam tomb inscription[52] (C 515 BC) mentions Śatagu, Gadara and Hidu as the provinces of Darius.
5. Susa Palace inscription[53] records the materials and workmen brought from different provinces for the construction of the palace. According to this source timber was brought from Gadara and the Ivory from Hidu.
6. Hamadan Gold and silver plate inscription also refers to Hidu of one as the boundaries of the empire of Darius.

From all these inscriptions it is clear that the empire of Darius, included among others the countries of Śatagu, Gadara and Hidu and that Hidu was situated on the easternmost border of his empire.

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The Behistun inscription (C 520-18 BC) is the earliest record of Darius, recorded probably only two or three years after his coronation. During this time he was terribly busy in suppressing the numerous rebellions all over his empire and therefore had hardly anytime for fresh conquests. The same was the case of Cambyses. Therefore these provinces might have formed part of Persian Empire from the time of Cyrus.[54]

After Behistun almost all the inscriptions add Hidu to the list of the provinces ruled by Darius. In all likelihood Hidu was conquered by Darius himself, perhaps between 518 and 515 B.C.[55] So far as the exact location of these three provinces is concerned the old Persian Gadara is Gandhāra in Sanskrit. From the Epics and other Sanskrit works Gandhāra seems to be situated near about the Kabul Valley. In the trilingual Achaemenid inscriptions the province of Gadara of old Persian is called Paruparaesanna in the Babylonian and Elamite[56] versions meaning "on the other side of the mountain" that is Hindukush mountain. This region is identical with Paropamisadae of classical writers. It appears that in the time of Darius, Gadara would have meant Gandhāra, including the region of Hindukush.[57]

As for Śatagu, it seems to be contiguous to Gandhāra. It has been variously identified as the Punjab[58] and also Gomal, the valley of river Gomati.[59] Hidu is no doubt Sindhu in Sanskrit. From the earliest historical period up till now it is the name of the lower Indus valley,[60] but during the time of Darius it included some parts of the Punjab also.[61]

It appears that in the Indian empire of Darius comprised the whole of Sind and some parts of the Punjab also, east of Indus.[62] The fact that the empire of Darius extended upto India is supported by the account of Herodotus.[63] According to him India was the twentieth satrapy of his empire and paid 360 tatents of gold dust (about one million pound sterling) as tribute per year. This formed almost one-third of the revenue of Darius' whole empire.[64] This literary evidence regarding the payment of tribute is confirmed by the

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sculpture carved on a staircase of a ruined palace of Darius I at Persepolis. There three Indian tribute bearers are shown, representing the three Indian districts,[65] Śatagu, Gadara and Hidu among the other tribute bearers, to the Persian monarch, from various other countries. They are identically dressed in loincloth and turban, with a sword hanging from their shoulder straps,[66] and are carrying baskets on their shoulders in a typical Indian way.[67] There is no doubt that a portion of North India named Hidu or Hindu was incorporated in the Achaemenian empire under Darius I. This is also strengthened by a statement of Herodotus[68] that Darius, in about 517 B.C. despatched a naval expedition under the Greek Skylax of Karyanda[69] to explore the mouth of the Indus. The fleet embarked from the city of Kaspapyros,[70] and sailed down the Indian Ocean. After a journey of two and half years, he reached the Egyptian port of Arsione (mod Suez). This was motivated by political as well as commercial aims of which Darius was very much aware.[71]

(XERXES (C 486-465 BC)

The Persian hold on this part of the world continued in the reign of Xerxes, the successor of Darius.[71] One whole contingent of the Indian army fought under Xerxes in the battle of Thermopylae and Boetian campaign against the Greeks and shared the Persian defeat. The Commanders were Persina Pharnazathes, son of Artabarns and Mardonius respectively.[73] The Indians clad in cotton garments (which was an item of wonder for the Greek soldiers) carried bows and arrows tipped with iron.[74] The Indian soldiers brought chariots drawn by horses and wild[75] asses and also brought a large number of dogs.[76]

Artaxerxes and Xerxes III

After Xerxes the next known contract between Iran and India is under Artaxerxes (418-398 BC), when Ctesias (c 400 BC) was his court physician for seventeen years and received a tiger from India.[77] He wrote a book about India for which he must have collected the

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information from Indian envoys, tribute bearers, traders and travellers[78] visiting Iran from time to time.

The Persian hold over India continued up to 330 BC as Darius III, the last Achaemenian King, was able to deploy Indian troops and elephants in the decisive battle of Arabela (331 BC) and Gaugamela (330 BC) where he was defeated by Alexander.

Contribution of the Persian Impact

The facts cited above clearly show that from the very ancient times India and Iran maintained close contact which was intensified further when the Achaemanian invasions brought a portion of Indian territory under Iranian rule, which lasted for about two centuries. The effects of this political contact which went deep into the fabric of Indian culture brought many appreciable and long abiding changes. Later on Alaxander destroyed the mighty Persian Empire but in doing so brought India and Iran closer again. In the 4th Cent. B.C. when the Mauryan Empire extended up to the eastern borders of Iran the Indo-Iranian contacts became all the more wide ranging.

Language and Script

It is now an universally accepted fact that under the Achaemenian rule Aramaic scribes introduced Aramaic language and Kharoṣṭhī script, written from right to left, in India, which remained in use in the North West regions till 4th cent A.D.[79] The discovery at Sirkap (Taxila) of an inscription in the Aramaic language proves that Aramaic was known in India.[80]

From the name resemblances of Cyrus, (Kyros or Kurush on cunciform inscriptions and Kharoṣṭhī (meaning ass's-lip or looking like an ass or a camel) it is supposed that Cyrus, though he was described as illiterate;[81] introduced it in India. It had become the usual practice of Achaemenian Kings. Cambyses[82] introduced Aramaic language, for the business of administration, in Egypt after conquering it.

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Again, the recently discovered bilingual inscription of Aśoka in Kandahāra, in Greek and Aramaic, proves the prevalence of the Aramaic language in that area, where Aśoka thought it prudent to use the language of the masses as was his practice elsewhere. It is also significant that Aśoka used the words *dipi* and *divira* for the script and the scribe and also *nipish* or *nipishta* for engraving which have been used in Persian inscriptions.[83] In the inscriptions of Darius we read '*ipam dipim nipishtanaiy*' while Aśoka writes 'ayi dharma dipi nipista'.[84]

These words were also known to Pāṇini, the great Indian grammarian, who belonged to Gandhāra.[85] They may have been introduced by the Achaemenian emperors, after conquering the provinces of Sindh and Gandhāra. The Sanskrit word '*Lipi*', which is but a modification of the Iranian word *dipi*, for script, was known but was not in great use by that time, hence the use of Persian word dipi by Aśoka.

Edicts

It is now universally believed that the idea of recording royal orders and directions on such permanent materials as rocks and pillars, seem to have been inspired by the Achaemenian practice.[86] When the need arose, Aśoka readily borrowed the practice, of course not in his case for the purpose of propagating any exploits (like the Achaemenian emperors) but for that of carrying his message of 'Dhamma', to the people he governed. As a matter of fact Aśoka's idea of inscribing ethical dissertation on rocks in the guise of royal proclamations also seem to be[87] Persian in origin. The second mutilated and unedited inscription of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam, near Persepolis was perhaps, perceptive and not historical, "the last solemn admonition of Darius to his countrymen with respect to their future conduct in polity, morals and religion".[88]

Long ago, Senart noticed a close similarity between the forms of Aśokan inscriptions and those of the Achaemenian Kings. The edicts of Aśoka begin with the usual formula 'Devānāṁ-piya piyadasi rājā evam aha.' "The king, the beloved of gods, Piyadarshi speaks thus"

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and the opening phrase of all the Achaemenian Kings from Darius to Artaxerxes is 'Thatiy Darayavaush Kshayathiya" thus said the King Darius or its equivalent 'thatiya Ksayarasha'.[89] In both the cases the third person is immediately succeeded by the use of first person. Even many of the scribes, like *Ghapada*, employed by Aśoka to engrave his records, were the persons who hailed from the North west region.[90]

The modern term *Hindu* by which the mojority of Indians are known is also of Persian origin. The Persians knew Indians as the people living in the land of Sindhu[91] river Indus. The 'Sa' of Sanskrit is the 'ha' of ancient Persian.

Empire and Administration

It is a probability that the idea of conquest and establishing a big empire was inspired by Persian influence. Bimbisāra, King of Magadha (C 544-493 B.C.) was a contemporary of Cyrus and Darius and we know it for certain that he was in contact with the king or government of Gandhāra which was a part of the Persian Empire at this time.[92] Later on the imperialism of the Mauryan Kings was a synthesis of Indian (idea of Chakravarti), Achaemenian and Hellenistic ideas.[93] The expansionist policy initiated by Bimbisāra was brought to a culmunation by the prowess of Chandra Gupta and the wisdom of his minister. It is no coincidence that some practises of the highly organized administration of Chandra Gupta Maurya (C 324-300 B.C.) resemble those of the Achaemenian government which was known for its organizational ability and efficieney. Though the civil and military institutions of Chandra Gupta remain essentially Indian,[94] he modified some particulars on the basis of the Persian practices. Like them he divided his empire into provinces administered by governors appointed by the ruler, at the same time he was also aware of the weakness of Persian Central control over the outlying provinces, which soon became seats of rebellion under powerful Satraps and caused a lot of trouble to Cambyses and Darius. To avoid this drawback he appointed princes of royal blood, at four centres of his empire, Taxilā (North West), Tosāli (East), Ujjayini (South West) and

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Suvarṇagiri (South) – through whom a powerful centralised control was kept on the provinces. It would, thus, appear that unlike the Iranian pattern, the Mauryans did not relax their hold on the distant provinces, ruling out any chance of rebellion. It, however, did happen in later times.

Court Etiquette and Manners

Persian influence is also noticed in the court manners and etiquette. The style of living of Mauryan emperors, specially that of Chandra Gupta Maurya, as recorded by Megasthenes, was to a great extent, similar to that of the Persian Monarchs.[95] He lived in seclusion in the palace under heavy guard[96] and appeared in public only on religious or any other solemn occasions. Megasthenes categorically states that the court of Chandra Gupta was held very much like the court of Persian Kings.[97] He also celebrated the hair washing festival of the Persian monarchs, described by Herodotus[98] and Strabo[99] as "Tyakta.' Strabo tells us that Chandragupta washed his hair on his birthday which the courtiers celebrated as a big festival and sent him costly presents.[100] The Persian Kings also washed their hair on birthdays, when a great function was organized.[101]

Satrapal System

The Satrapal system of government was introduced in Persia by Cyrus.[102] The Persian word Kshatrapa or Satrap (meaning the protector of the realm) indicates a civil or military governor. These Kshatraps were men of high birth and in some cases members of the royal family by birth or marriage. Dadarshi[103] was the Satrap of Bactria and Arachosia was governed by the Persian Satrap Vivan[104] in the time of Darius. In India, this Satrapal form of rule was adopted by the Saka lords in the 1st Cent B.C. and it continued till the 5th century A.D. The Kushāṇa Kings also adopted this system of government in their administrative organization.

Similarly the title[105] Sāhi, meaning prince, is of Persian origin. The title of the Kushāṇas Shaonanoshao (which they used on their coins specially Kanishka and his successors), the expression Sāhisahānusāhi

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used for them by Samundra Gupta in his Allahabad Pillar inscription and the title of "great king of kings" or Basileus Basileon, used for the first time by the Parthian King Mithradates II and initiated by the Śaka King Maues (C. 80, 70 B.C.) of India, and its Indian equivalents Maharājasa, Rājrajasa or Mahārāja, Rajādhirāja are derived from the original Persian rendering 'Kshayathiyanam Kshayathia' of the epigraphs of Darius[106].

Coinage

In the field of coinage, the influence of Persia can be clearly ascertained. During the Achaemenian rule Persian silver coins, Sigloi[107] freely circulated in the region of Punjab and Sind. Darics, the gold coins of Persia, are rare in India but *sigloi* have been discovered in large number,[108] Many silver *sigloi* bear countermarks, similar to the native punch marked coins,[109] and some have characters, which have been read as Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī letters[110] which clearly establish that Sigloi and Indian punch-marked coins were perhaps struck in India and were in circulation together.[111] According to Rawlinson, the Mauryans did not have a regular coinage of their own, so Persian coins were in free circulation in their dominion.[112] But recent excavations at several sites have proved that coins were minted in India earlier than the Mauryan period going back to 5th cent. B.C.[113] or may be earlier. It is quite likely that originally in its early stages Indian coinage was influenced by the Persian system of coinage. The Persian Sigloi must have been the legal lender in the Persian Satrapies in India.[114]

It is noteworthy that the term *Karṣhāpaṇa* for coins has an affinity with the Persian word *Karsha*[115] from which it is formed. In Iranian Lexicon, *Karsha* is used in the sense of a certain weight.[116] Moreover in the Aramaic Colony of Memphis (Egypt) the current coinage in 6th cent. B.C. was known as Karsas.[117]

Roads

Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador, was highlyi mpressed by the Royal Road connecting Pātliputra with the great cities of North-West India especially Taxila.[118] It is likely that this was built on the

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model of the famous Royal Road, constructed by the Achaemenian Kings between Sardis and Susa.[119] According to Ctesias there was a similar Persian Road Between Bactria and India.[120]

Water Works

The Junāgarh Inscription[121] mentions a certain Yavanraja Tushaspa who was Aśoka's governor in the western part of his empire and he built the famous irrigational canals from the pre-existing dam of Sudarshan lake. His name suggests that he was an Iranian.[122] It is suggested that the building of these water conduits was patterned on the model of the canals for the irrigational purposes built under Achaemenian Kings.[123] Among them, Darius is attributed with the completion of the canal connecting the Red Sea (near Suez) with the Nile.[124] He is also believed to have taken great pains in repairing the great dam at Memphis as recorded by Herodotus.[125]

Art and Architecture

The extent of Persian influence in the realms of art and architecture, specially during the Mauryan period, is a controversial problem. With the advent of the Mauryas, stone came to be increasingly used for architectural and sculptural purposes. In the Harappan Culture, which is described as the "Root of Indian Art", the architecture is of brick, though a few stone sculptural finds, indicate, without doubt, the existence of such a tradition. But at the same time, the Harappan sculptors used a softer kind of material, such as limestone, steatite and alabaster. From Harappa to the Mauryan period there is a hiatus of about fifteen hundred years. After Harappa, we have some examples of terracotta figurines of animals like the elephant, the bull, the horse, the ram, from the early Iron Age levels of Painted Grey Ware Culture and also the succeeding cultures representing Northern Black polished ware (N.B.P.)[126]. But unfortunately in the class of stone sculptures we have only small objects of semi-precious stones[127], used in the bead making industry. The archaeological evidence shows that stone was not used in any appreciable quantity in pre-Mauryan times. The age of the Cyclopean wall of Rajgriha, which

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was supposed to have been built in the 6th cent B. C. and the palace complex of Kauśāmbi are of doubtful antiquity[128] and do not seem to be pre-Mauryan. This is attributed to the use of wood,[129] as the indigenous medium of art and archaeology which easily perished in Indian climatic conditions. Whatever may be the reason, the fact remains that the more frequent use of stone as the "medium par excellence" for architectural and sculptural purposes started with the Mauryas. Though the use of stone, at such a mass scale, was comparatively recent, it was handled with such profound skill and effeciency that it presupposes a long anterior practice of stone cutting and the idea of Persian inspiration or influence cannot be ruled out.[130]

The most important and the most beautiful art objects of this period are the pillars of Aśoka. They are tall (average height is 40 feet from the base to the top) tapering, monoliths of polished grey Chunar sandstone surmounted with sculptural capitals. The shaft is plain and circular. They stand directly on the ground and are not a part of any architectural complex. Chinese and Ceylonese traditions account for about forty pillars but so far only a score have been found. Some of them are inscribed, others are not. They were built by Aśoka[131] and were meant to commemorate the important events in the life of Buddha past and present. But John Irwin[132] does not agree with this idea. According to him all the so called Aśokan pillars were not the creation of King Aśoka ; they were in two series one (A)[133] found with edicts and the other (B)[134] us ually without them. The former were built by Aśoka. They are more elegant and planted on rectangular blocks of stone. The later pillars are crude and stand without a base. The argument does not appear to be very convincing and there is a consensus among scholars that there is homogenity in all the pillars, both in fabric and nature and Aśoka was the author of these pillars. These pillars, though, have an indigenous origin in Dhavajastambhas,[135] earlier mentioned in Vedic and Epic literature. Their concept can be traced to Vedic Sacrifical Yūpas[136] as mentioned in Ṛigveda and Satapatha Brahmin. Aśoka made the pillars first and inscribed them later in his reign which explains some of them left

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uninscribed.[137] The concept and the execution of Aśokan pillars does not seem to have any Persian influence as believed by some earlier scholars.[138]

Another debatable feature is the bell shaped or the inverted lotus top, the lower member of the capital of Aśokan pillars. Writers like Spooner, Mitra and Percy Brown,[139] understood the form and decoration of the bell in terms of the Persepolitan Capital. These views have been strongly refuted by Coodrington, Irwin, Agrawala and S.P. Gupta.[140] V.S. Agrawal took this as the pūrṇa-ghata motif and the rope binding as reminicent of the sacred thread which is always tied round the neck of a pūrṇaghata on an auspicious occasion. The peeping petals represent the leaves of the lotus. Ray, however, agrees with Coomarswami in suggesting that this bell form which actually is the base of Persian pillars and is used as a capital in Mauryan columns might have been borrowed from stylised lotus designs, a common motif of Indo-Persian Hellenistic Art.[141] The lotiform member represents either an inverted lotus or pūrṇaghata and is in complete accord with Indian tradition and has an indigenous origin. The western influences are recognized in the use of such decorative motifs as the honeysuckle, the acanthus, the knop and flower pattern etc.[142] The natural rendering and the artistic finish of the animal capitals on the pillars of Aśoka is said to exhibit Persian influence[143] especially the four addorsed lions sitting back to back on the Sārnāth Lion Capital.[144] These animal figures are very natural and realistic in execution and the roots of their beautiful modelling can be traced in the animals depicted on the Harappan Seals particularly the Bull. They are completely indigenous rendering though a certain Persian or West Asian influence can be traced in the lion figures of Aśoka.[145]

Another marked imported technique appears to be the metallic polish of almost all the specimens of Mauryan Art—Aśokan pillars, the rock-cut-caves, pillars of the Kumrāhār Palace complex and the other stray pieces like Didārganj Yakshī etc., since it was a characteristic of Persian masonary.[146]

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Nothing much is known about Mauryan architecture except the wooden palisade[147] of the city of Pātliputra and the remains of the pillared Hall of Kumrāhār[148] dug by Waddel and Spooner. These two are supposed to be designed on the Persian pattern.[149] It is true that Megasthanes was impressed by the beauty and the town planning of Pātliputra and compared it with the cities of Susa and Ecabatana and found Pātliputra more beautiful than the two[150] but nowhere does he refer to any Persian resemblance. There is nothing in the wooden palisade built of Sāl Wood, to suggest any Persian prototype or influence whatsoever.[551]

The building at Kumrāhār is a square pillared Hall with eighty columns. These pillars are arranged in the multiple rows of two, are equidistant and have the typical Mauryan polish. This was supposed to be the Audience Hall[152] built by Chandra Gupta Maurya on the exact pattern of the famous Hall of a hundred columns or Apadan, built at Persepolis by Darius[153] II. On closer examination there seems to be a world of difference between the two. To begin with the number of pillars, then the stone, columns of the Mauryan Hall at Kumrāhār do not have any capitals whereas, the pillars at Persepolis are decorated with figured capitals and finally the Mauryan Columns have no base while the Persian columns stand on a bell shaped base or on plain circular mouldings. Besides, the "testimony," of the Greek writer, that the Mauryan Palace was much superior in all respect to Achaemenian palaces at Susa and Ecabatana, is strong enough to rule out the participation of foreign artists in the building of the palace, because they should have done better in their home.[154]

Some scholars like Sitaram Roy and B.P. Sinha[155] claim that the hall was built during the reign of Aśoka by Indian craftsmen to hold the General Council of Buddhists. This structure is perhaps too open a place and hence unsuitable as the venue for the General Assembly of Monks. S.P. Gupta has put forward the theory of this pillared hall on the bank of river being a "Ramya-Mandap" or open Baradari of the Mauryan Kings to hold dance and musical evenings.[156] Whatever might have been the purpose—of this building it was a completely indigenous monument, built by Indian craftsmen under

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the patronage of either Chandra Gupta or Aśoka.[157] It was the result of the long process of development of Mauryan Art and had no foreign moorings.

The origin of the Mauryan rock cut caves is also traced to the Persian rock cut tombs of Darius and others located in Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustam,[158] but it is still a moot point. There is a tendency among scholars to take the origin of the rock cut caves even before Aśoka and Chandra Gupta as the first Buddhist Council of the time of Ajat-Śatru is supposed to have taken place in the Son Bhandār Cave in Rajgriha.[159] In 1975 Bhopardikar and K.D. Bannerji explored some forty five rock shelters in Sehore district of Madhya Pradesh. Several stupas, habitation sites and two Aśokan inscriptions, besides the rock shelters were brought to light in the villages Bayan and Pangoraria.

Anterior to these are the two prehistoric caves in Sitābanī and Jogīmarā in Ramgarh distt. complete with Mauryan Brahmi inscriptions.[160] The inference is that the practice of making rock cut caves had started in India as early as 5th cent. B.C. and it had hardly anything to do with Persian examples.

Some other sculptural finds of the Mauryan period are supposed to bear Persian influence. Two polished sandstone heads, one with a crenellated crown and the other with a drooping moustache resemble certain Iranian figures wearing similar ornaments.[161] In this connection reference must be made to a winged stag found in the upper strata of the Bhir Mound at Taxilā.[162]

Similar to the objects of Achaemenian origin are also four bangles of thin beaten gold with lion's head at the both ends and a few pieces of pottery with the conventional leaf design.[163] Their characteristic Iranian designs suggest that they may have been imported from somewhere in Iran.[164]

The exquisite monolithic pillars surmounted by some of the most magnificent animal figures of the Mauryan period are bound to be created by some exceptionally remarkable craftsmen and sculptors. The identity of these artists is a debatable issue. Broadly speaking

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these are two major groups of scholars, one favouring West Asian or Persian artists like Havel, Smith, Bachhofer, Coodrington, Coomarswamy, Mitra, Nihar Ranjan Ray, Marshall, Wheeler and the other indigenous, represented by V.S. Agarwal, John Irwin, D. Devahuti, S.P. Gupta and others. With the advent of the Mauryas, building activity was suddenly increased and Aśoka is credited to have built 84000 stupas, but there is no evidence to show that Chandra Gupta or Aśoka for that matter specially invited the Persian artists to take the contract of the same. The idea of the 'Persian refugee' theory or a colony of Persian Artists working for the Mauryan Kings does not hold good on the closer examination of facts. Megasthenes does not mention them and Buddhist tradition is also silent about them. Moreover, Alexander was the last person to have allowed the so-called "dislocated or unemployed Persian artists" after the fall of Persepolis in 330 B.C. to have come to India and cross the enemy territory to reach Pātliputra. But at the same time the possibility of some stray Persian artists working for the Mauryan Kings cannot be ruled out altogether. If the head of the water works in Girnar in Aśokan times was a foreigner Tushāspa[165] and Ghapada[166] was the scribe from North West region why couldn't some foreign artists too be present in Mauryan Court? In view of the centuries old contact between Persia and India, the practice of the exchange of embassies with West Asian Countries started by the Mauryan Kings and the policy of sending Dhamma-Mahāmātras to the friendly neighbouring countries which included Egypt, there is no wonder that some foreign elements and ideas filtered in and expressed themselves in the contemporary art. It is true that the Mauryan Art was the natural product of the socio-economic order of the time but the long cultural interaction with West Asian countries may have fired the imagination of the Mauryan kings. Mauryan art appears to be a strange amalgam of indigenous and foreign elements.

Advent of the Magas

Another important contribution of the Persian Interaction, which influenced Indian religious thought in a big way, was the advent of the Magas[167] the fire and Sun worshipping priests of Iran. The Magas

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introduced a new tradition of image worship and temple worship in the Solar cult of India.[168] The Magian cult was prevalent throughout Iran during the Achaemenian rule and it is no surprise that they also entered India in the 6th or 5th cent. B.C. It appears that in the beginning their impact was not great as the tradition of Sun and Fire worship already existed in the Vedas[169] and the Upanishads.[170] Moreover, because of their certain alien and abhorrent practices[171] the Magas seem to have been ignored in the contemporay orthodox literature of India. In the beginning the Magas appear to have been confined to the North-West border of India which was under the Achaemenian rule. Philostratos, a Greek writer refers to a Temple of the Sun at Taxila and according to Plutarch there was another one on the Jhelum (Hydespes), where the elephants of Porus retreated on the advance of Alexander.[172] Since the tradition of public worship of the Sun in temples was introduced by the Magas in India the above mentioned testimony of Greek writers shows Magian influence in the 4th cent B.C. [173]

The advent of the Magas in India with the Achaemenians is also corroborated by archaeological evidence. Recent excavations in West Pakistan have brought to light actual specimens of a number of fire altars in association with sun discs from the Achaemenian level at Balambat.[174] Here the prevalence of the Iranian religion presupposes the presence of Magian priests under whose guidance alone the rituals could be performed.[175]

Trade

Close contact with Persia gave a boost to Indian trade which had already existed from the earliest times. Persia is situated in the very centre of the vast plains of the Euphrates and the Indus and all the ancient trade routes passed from or through it. Added to this key geographical position were the well laid out Persian roads, punctuated with efficient military post, running from one end of the empire to another, which made communication easier and quicker. Darius I, who, according to Herodotus was called a 'Pedlar'[176] by his people, his successors were not satisfied with the existing trade and tried to extend it further. With this end in view he sent Skylax,[177] with a fleet

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to explore the possibility of navigation from the Indus to the Red Sea. After the arrival of this fleet, Darius decided to complete the canal at the Isthumus of Suez. He also reopened the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea.[178] The statement of Herodotus that the Persian fleet "frequented the sea"[179] seems to imply that Darius considerably developed the sea traffic. Nearchus, an admiral of Alexander's navy, while on his way back home, was detained in Sind for twenty four hours due to unfavourable winds. He stayed in a pre-existing harbour, which he named as 'Alexander's Haven'. Most probably this harbour was made and used by the Achaemenians.[180] According to Arrian,[181] at the time of Nearchus' departure, he got a guide in Gedrosia, who had some knowledge of the coast as far as the Gulf of Ormuz. It appears that during that period Indian vessels were sailing along the coast of Gedrosia to Arabia and the Persian Gulf, reaching up to the Red Sea.[182] The maritime trade progressed considerably after the Persian occupation of India.

Silk and Ivory were exported from India to Persia, in exchange for gold.[183] Some inscriptions on clay tablets and stone slabs recovered from the palace of Darius I in Susa, confirm the import of[184] ivory from India. It is interesting to note that a Hindu woman named Busasa[185] kept an inn, under police supervision, at Kish for travellers and merchants.

Political Contact

The political contact with Iran during this period affected India in another important way. It provided a bridge between India and the West. From this time onwards India's relations with the Western World became increasingly political as the Achaemenian Persia provided a meeting ground for Phoenecian, Scythian, Egyptian, Greek and Iranian merchants and warriors, travellers and scholars. The idealogical interaction between India and the West led to an enlargement of the scope of intellectual activity and a general widening of the perspective which had a very far reaching influence on the culture of India.

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Conclusion

This Persian invasion was India's first contact with the outside world in the historic period. The influence of this confrontation was deep and extensive and was felt in many fields—script and language, engraving of edicts on pillars and rocks, coinage, court manners and etiquette, administration and religion to some extent, construction of roads and canals and, above all, on art and architecture. With the extension of India's trade with Western Asia, the economy of the country was also boosted up. This contact was instrumental in widening the political horizon of India by introducing her to other countries like Babylon, Syria, Egypt, Phoenecia and Greece.

The Persian inroad into the Indian soil gave a rude shock to placidity and the complasence that had been gradually taking hold on Indian society. At this stage Indian Civilization was tending to become inbred, insulated and decadent with a preponderance of ritualistic religion, marked by the priestly supremacy, and an increasingly rigid stratification of the caste system. There was a growing resentment among the people against this hardened static social outlook. A need for change was being heralded by the revolutionary teachings of Buddha and Mahāvīra in and about the 6th cent B.C. The Persian interaction was the answer to this crying need for the fresh impetus which moved Indian Civilization some steps forward. The idea of an extensive empire took a concrete shape under the Mauryas, with the Persians for the first time presenting the spectacle of a large and cohesive domain, under the sway of strong monarch at the centre. As such the brief Persian intrusion was a fitting prelude to the Mauryan glory which saw the flowering of Indian Civilization in all the spheres of art, architecture, coinage, trade, religion and international relations.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Toynbee, Mankind and Mother Earth* pp. 223-25.
2. *Ibid, Romila Thapar, History of India* Vol. I, p. 190.
3. *Herzfield E. Iran and the Ancient East* p. 190; *History and Culture of the Indian People* Vol. I, p. 218.

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4. *Herzfield E, Iran and the Ancient East* p. 192.
5. The Gods of the joint groups of Indo Iranian Aryans were nature gods and were termed as Daivas. Later on some abstract and ethical deities were introduced and were given the name of Asura perhaps borrowed from the Assyrian Civilization. Varuna was the chief of these ethical deities. The antagonism between the worshippers of the old gods and the new gods was the main cause of the separation. The Asura gods were worshipped by the more cultured and settled people given to agriculture and cattle rearing. The Daiva worshippers were more vigorous but primitive. The former stayed in Iran and the latter, the more adventurous one, advanced further east and entered India. *Ghosh B.K. in The History & Culture of the Indian Peoples* Vol. I, pp. 219-221.
6. *Kanga and Sontakke* (ed) *Avesta Part* I (Preface) pp. XXI (1962).
7. N.N. Gupta "The Veda and the Avesta"; Modern Review Vol. VIII 1935 p. 255.
8. *Ibid.*, Satya Prakash "Indo-Persian Relations in Ancient India" Modern Review Vol. 84, 1949, p. 61.
9. Satya Prakash *Ibid.* p. 61; F.C. Davar, *India and Iran through the Ages* pp. 4-5; A.B. Keith, "The Magi" JRAS, 1915 p. 198.
10. Davae, "India and Iran through the Ages," p. 8—*Ghosh-in The History & Culture of the Indian people* Vol. I, p. 218; *Rapson Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, p. 320. It is obvious that Hittite Arunas, first meaning sea, developed into Mittani Uruvan the Vedic Varuna and Greek Ouranos, the lord of celestial sea and the realm of light above. *Upadhyay B.S.—Feeders of Indian Culture* p. 22.
11. *Rigveda* III 61. ; *Yast X* 142.
12. *Rigveda I 152. 3. 4. 5; Yast X 125. 136.*
13. *Sashi Asthana. History & Arch. of Indian's contact with other countries* p. 125.
14. Davar—"India & Iran through the Ages" p. 8., *Rapson. Combridge History of India 319.* Satyh Prakash —"Indo-Persian Relations in Ancient India"—Mod. Review Vol. 84, p. 61.
15. Jairazbhoys—*Foreign Influences in Ancient India* p. 24.
16. *Davar - op. cit.*, p. 13.
17. *History & Culture of the Indian People.* Vol. I, p. 222. *Cambridge History of India* p. 320.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Davar—"India and Iran through the Ages"* p. 6.
20. *History & Culture of the Indian people* Vol. I, p. 222.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid; R.B. Pandey—Hindu Sanskaras* p. 112; *Davar op. cit.* p. 17.
23. Davar—*op. cited.* p. 17. *Asthana Sashi—History & Archaeology of India's contact with other countries* p. 128.

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24. The evidence in this connection is all literary. Recent studies have shown that there is no definite archaeological evidence to connect the Vedic Aryans with the people of any country outside India. Archaeologists are not sure even about the remains which could be ascribed to early Vedic Aryans even within the bounderies of India, with certainity. Thapar B.K. "Aryans: A Reappraisal of the Problem" ICWTC p. 19.
25. *Rapson—Cambridge History of India* p. 32.
26. *Ibid*--p. 322: *Satya Prakash*; "Indo-Persian Relations in Ancient India." Mod. Review Vol. 84 1940, p. 61.
27. *Satya Prakash op. cited, Rapson* (ed) *Cambridge History of India* p. 322.
28. *Macdonald—History of Sanskrit Literature* p. 140; Satya Prakash "Indo-Persian Relation in Ancient India" Vol. 84. Mod. Review 1948 p. 62; *Davar "India and Iran through the Ages"* p. 42.
29. *Rapson* (ed) *Cambridge History of India* 1922 p. 327.
30. *Cambridge Ancient History* Vol. IV p. 180.
31. *Will Durant—Our Oriental Heritage* p. 33.
32. *Herodotus.* I—177.
33. *Cambridge Ancient History* Vol. IV p. 16.
34. *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I 1932 p. 329.
35. *Herodotus* I. *153. 177.*
    The position of Sattygadia is not certain. It has been variously located in Gazni & Gilzani, Hazara country in the valley of river Gomati (Gomal). Some have tried to identify it with Kapisa and others like Herzfield with the Punjab.
36. *Fragment 37* (ed) *Gilmore.*
37. Various suggestions have been put forward for the location of Derbikes without any success. William Jackson puts them somewhere on the border of the Indian frontier *Rapson* (ed) *Cambridge of India* Vol. I, p. 330.
38. *Herodotus I 2I4.* Cyrus died while fighting with Messgatae, a savage race occupying the great plain of the east of Caspian.
39. *Xenophon—Cyropedia VIII-7, 3-38* mentions the name of Dahaetribe in this context which lies in the North East of the Caspian.
40. *Ibid.*, I. 1.4.
41. *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I 1922 p. 330-31.
42. *Pliny. Hist. Nat.* VI. 23-25.
43. *Arrian-Indika* I, p. 1-3; *Mc'Crindle Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* p. 179. Olmstead accepts this statement as historical and believes that the portion of India West of the Indus especially Gandhār was incorporated in the empire of Cyrus (*History of the Persian Empire* pp. 48-49); *Ojha Kailash Chandra—History of Foreign Rule in Ancient India* p. 12. R.C. Majumdar however believes the statement of Arrian as wrong because at this time

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Gandhara was being ruled by a King be named Pukkusāti, (*Rhys Davids, Buddhist India* p. 28) who conquered Pradyota, the King of Avanti, and sent an embassy to Bimbasāra of Magadha. "Achaemerian Rule in India" IHQ. Vol. 25 Calcutta 1949 pp. 154. Pukkusāti is a legendary figure and as such can hardly be taken as a historical figure. The time of Pradyota & Bimbasara can hardly be ascertained to coincide with Cyrus.

44. *Anabasis* VI 24. 2-3.
45. *Indica* IX. 10.
46. *Strabo* XV. 1.6.
47. Hyradakes were perhaps the Kshudrakas of North West India—*Cambridge History of India* p. 331.
48. *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I p. 333.
49. *Sircar—Select Inscriptions* pp. 3-4.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Cambridge Ancient History* IV. p. 183; Herzfield E, MASI 34 p. 3; *Chattopadhyaya S, The Achaemenids in India* pp. 6-7. Herzfield is of the opinion that these provinces were included in the Median empire conquered by Cyrus. *India Antiqua 1947* pp. 181-184.
55. *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, p. 335; Herzfield E, MASI, 34, p. 2; *Olmstead, History of Persian Empire* p. 14.
56. *Herzfield E, India Antiqua 1947* p. 182; *Ormstead, op. cited*, pp. 48, 49.
57. *Ojha K.C. The History of the foreign rule in Ancient India* pp. 16, 1. According to S. Chattopadhyaya Gandhara with its twin capitals of Pukkatāvati and Takshasilā, should include some parts of the Punjab also. *Achaemenids in India* p. 6. But this definition of the Gandhara belongs to later times.
58. In view of Herzfield Śatagu is the Medo Pali corruption of Sanskrit *Sapta Sindhu* and old Persian Hapta Hindu. Accordingly he has identified it with the Punjab. MASI 34 p. 2 ; *India Antiqua* pp. 181-84.
59. *Chattopadhyaya S, Achaemenids in India* p. 6.
60. *Ojha K. C. The History of Foreign Rule in Ancient India* p. 17.
61. *Smith V.A. Early History of India* p. 37.
62. *Cambridge History of India* p. 337.
63. *Herodotus III*, 97-98, 102-106.
64. *Ibid* ; Herodotus also says that India was rich in gold and refers to the "gold digging ants". It is generally believed that this gold came from the washings of the Upper Indus beds which were auriferous in those days. *Smith V.A. Early History of India* (4th ed) pp. 31-38 ; *The History and Culture of the Indian People* Vol. II p. 41.

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Some scholars, on the other hand, are of the opinion that in those days India did not produce any gold and the knowledge of Indians about mining was negligent as is also stated by Megasthenes. Therefore all this gold referred to by Herodotus came either from Bactria (Chattopadhyaya, *Achaemenids in India* pp. 40-42) or from Siberia (Tarn WW—*Greeks in Bactria and India* pp. 104-6).

65. Herzfield E, MASI 34, p. 3 ; A.W. Davis, "An Achaemenian Tomb Inscription at Persepolis" J. R.A.S. 1932 pp. 373-77.
66. Herzfield E, MASI, 34, p. 3.
67. Davar F.C. *India and Iran though the Ages* p. 51.
68. Herodotus, IV. 44.
69. Skylax a mercenary sea captain was the first Greek known to have visited India and also the first known man to have made the Red Sea voyage. It was probably the account of his adventure, now lost, which formed the basis of the "*Historica*" written by Herodotus.
70. The exact location of Kaspapyros is still a matter of controversy but generally it is taken to be the spot on the Kabul river where it joins the Indus.
71. *Ghirshman R. Iran* p. 146.
72. *Cambridge History of India Vol. I* p. 340 : Sastri K.A. Nilkanta —*Age of Nandas & Mauryas* p. 32; *Chattopadhyaya Achaemenids in India* p. 13.
73. *Herodotus.* VII, 65.
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.* VII, 86.
76. *Ibid.* VII, 187.
77. Mc'Crindle—*Ancient India as described by Ktesians the Knidian* p. 9.
78. Mc'Crindle—*Ancient India as described by Ctesias & Megasthenes* p. 8. The portion of the book written by Ctesias-*Indica* was preserved in the library of Photius (9th cnt.) Inspite of the excellent opportunities he got for acquiring knowledge about India, Ctesias packed his narrative with all sorts of lies. His account is not taken to be very reliable. Rawlinson—*Intercourse between India and the Western World* p. 26.
79. Sten Konow, *C.I.I.* Vol. II, *Part I* p. II : *Cambridge Ancient History* Vol. IV p. 201 : Smith V.A., "Persian Influence on Mauryan Period," Indian Antiquary Vol. XXXIV 1905 p. 200.
80. Sircar. *Select Inscriptions* p. 81 ; A Cawley, "The first Aramaic Inscription from Taxila" J.R.A.S. 1915 p. 346 ; L.D. Barnett. "An Aramaic inscription from Taxila" J. R.A.S. 1915 pp. 340-42.
81. Jairzbhoy, Foreign Influence in Ancient India p. 40.
82. Upadhyaya B.S. thinks that it was Cyrus (*Feeders of Indian Culture* p. 38) but Jairazbhoy takes him to be Cambyses (*Foreign Influence in Ancient India.* p. 40).
83. Smith V.A., "Persian Influence on Mauryan India" I.A. Vol. XXXIV pp. 180-86.

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84. *Ibid* ; Hultzch, CII I 1925 pl. XLII.
85. Pāṇini was a resident of the village Śalatura, in the Yusufzai district in Western Gandhāra. This is believed to be in the Persian occupied area from the time of Cyrus. Pāṇini is now generally believed to have belonged to the 6th Century B.C.
86. Thapar—*Aśoka and the Decline of Mauryans* p. 127, Rawlisnon, *Intercourse between Indian and the Western World.* p. 29.
    Gupta, S.P.— *The Roots of Indian Art* p. 41 ; Saraswati, S.K.—*A Survey of Indian Sculpture* p. 24.
87. Smith V.A., "Persian Influence on Mauryan India" I.A. Vol. XXXIV 1905 p. 202 ; Gupta, S.P. above cited p. 41.
88. Rawlinson Cannor ; Translation of Herodotus Vol. IV p. 177.
89. Senart ; "The Inscriptions of Piyadasi". I Ant. XX pp. 255-56.
90. *Asthana, S., History and the Archaeology of India's Contacts with other countries from Earliest times to* 300 B.C. p. 200-*quoting a privately circulated paper by S.R. Goel.*
91. *Davar—India and Iran through the Ages*, p. 42.
92. *A.L. Basham—The Wonder that was India* p. 47.
93. *K.A.N. Sastri—Age of Nandas & Mauryas.*
94. Smith—"Persian Influence on Mauryan India", Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXIV 1905, p. 198.
95. Mc'Crindle—*Ancient India as described by Megathenes & Arrian* pp. 71-73 Rawlinson—*Intercourse between India and the Western World* p. 28 & 43.
96. *Mc'Crindle-Ibid.* p. 71-73 : *Rawlinson—Ibid* p. 28.
97. Smith—Early History of India Ch. V ; Rawlinson, "Foreign Influence in the Civilization of Ancient India" J.B. BRAS Vol. 23 p. 277.
98. *Strabo*, XV, 69 *99. *Strabo*—XV, 69 *100. *Arthaśāstra*—IV 9.
101. Smith V.A. "Persion Influences on Mauryan India," Indian Antiquary Vol. XXXIV, 1905 p. 190.
102. *Cambridge Ancient History* Vol. IV pp. 115 & 196-98.
103. *Ibid.* 115.
104. *Ibid.*
105. *Jairazbhoy—Foreign Influence in Indian Culture* p. 42.
106. Jairazbhoy—*op cit.*
107. Macdonald : *Ancient Persian coins of India.*
    E.G. Rapson Indian Coins 1898, pp. 342-86; Chakraborty; "The Persian and Greek Coins and their imitation in India" IHQ Vol. 10, pp. 70-71; Unvala "Political & Cultural Relations between India & Iran" ABORI Vol. 28 1947 p. 175.
108. Chakraborty—*ibid*; Unavala—*ibid.*
109. Chakraborty— *ibid*; Unavala—*ibid.* pp. 70-71; Rapson Indian *Coins* 1897 p. 3.

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110. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, Rapson, *op. cit.*
111. *Rapson, Indian Coins.* p. 4. Chakraborty, "The Persian and Greek coins and their imitation in India" I.H.Q. Vol. 10, 1947, p. 176.
112. Cambridge Ancient History Vol. VI, 1927, p. 402.
113. "The Cronology of Punchmarked coins" (ed) A.K. Narain and Lallanji Gopal, 1966, pp. 39-42.
114. F.W. Thomas, "The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History" a criticism of Sponner's article, J.R. As 1916 pp. 365-66.
115. *Ibid.*
116. *Ibid.*
117. *Ibid.*
118. *Strabo I. 11; Pliny Nat Hist. VI. 21.*
119. Rawlinson H.G., *Intercourse between India and the Western World* pp. 42-44. *Asthana Sahsi; History and Archaeology of India's Contacts with Other Countries from Earliest times to* 300 B.C. p. 194.
120. First the Assyrians, then the Persians created permanent system of road and provided for their regular maintenance, constructing bridges, embankments and rest houses at convenient distances. *Cambridge Ancient History* Vol. IV, pp. 123 and 193.
121. *Sircar—Select Inscriptions* p. 169. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. VIII, p. 36.
122. Yavana is not applied only for Greeks. It was also used persons of Semitic origin. *Rawlinson* "Foreign Influence in the Civilization of Ancient India," J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. 23, p. 228.
123. *Spooner; "Zoroastrian Period of Indian History"* J.R.A.S. 1916, pp. 405-57. Babylonians learnt the art of canal building from Sumerians who were the founders of the irrigational system. They made canals that ribbed and crossed their land. This was a great achievement of Sumerian Civilization dating 4000 B.C. The Persians learnt this art from the Babylonians. *Will Durant—Our Oriental Heritage p. 124.*
124. *Cambridge Ancient History* Vol. IV, 1926 pp. 119.
125. *Ibid;* p. 120.
126. Gupta, S.P.—*The Roots of Indian Art* p. 5; Saraswati, S.K.—A Survey of Indian Sculpture p. 22.
127. Gupta, S.P.—*Op. cit.*
128. Ghosh, A.—*The City in Early Historical India* pp. 67-70.
129. Saraswati, S.K.—*A Survey of Indian Sculpture* p. 23;
Thapar, Romila—*Aśoka and the Decline of Mauryas* (second Ed.) Appendix VI p. 267; *Mario Bussagli & Sivaramamurti* C—5000 years of Indian Art p. 57; *Artha-Sāstra* 11.3.6. Wood was used for building the cities, its use in sculpture would be only normal. But S.P. Gupta does not agree with this view. According to him there is hardly any valid reasons to believe that there was a

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long tradition of monumental Art in India in pre-Aśokan times through the medium of wood as no archaeological evidence has been found yet.

130. Sarvaswati S.K.—Above cited p. 23; Pusalkar, "Cultural Interaction Between India and the outside World. Cultural Heritage of India Vol. I; Gupta S.P. —Above cited pp. 11 & 13; Mario Bussagle & Sivaramamurti C. above cited p. 57.
131. Gupta S.P.—*The Roots of Indian Art* pp. 37-39; S.K. Saraswati—*A Survey of Indian Sculpture* pp. 22 & 23; Ray, Nihar Ranjan pp. 33, 34.
132. John, Irwin—"Asoka Pillars: a reassesment of the Evidence, Burlington Magazine Vol. CXV 1973 pp. 706, Dec. 1973, pp. 712-726.
133. A series pillars are those found and Toprā, Sārnath, Lauriyā Nandangarh and Gotihāwa.
134. Series B. include the pillars of Rāmpurwā, Kausāmbī Sankisā and Vaisālī.
135. John Irwin—*Op. cit.* pp. 712-726; Gupta S.P. *Op. cit.* pp. 41, 42; Thapar, Romila *Op. cit.* p. 267.
136. Agarwal V.S.—Indian Art p. 36; Gupta S.P.—*Op. cit.*, John Irwin, *Op. cit.*, Devahuti D—1972 "Mauryan Art and Episodic Theory"
137. Gupta S.P.—*op. cit.* pp. 37-39.
138. Ray, Nihar Ranjan—Maurya and Sunga Art p. 31 Marshall John, *The Monuments of India in Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, pp. 562-563; Unvala, "*Political and Cultural Relations between Iran and India.*" A.B.O.R.I. Vol. 21 p. 176; Benjamin Rowland—*Art and Architecture of India* pp. 44-45.
139. Spooner—"Zoroastrian Period of Indian A. History, J.R.A.S. 1981. pp. 405-57; Mitra—"Origin of Bell Capital" IHQ. VIII, pp. 226-30. Percy Brown—*Indian Architecture* pp. 7-11.
140. John Irwin—*op. cit*; Agrawal V.S. *Indian Art* pp. 36-38. S.K. Saraswati—*op. cit.* p. 27; Gupta S.P. *op. cit.*, p. 80.
141. Ray N.R. *op. cit.* p. 32. Coomarswamy A.K. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* p. 17.
142. Saraswati S.K. *op. cit.*, p. 27; Gupta S.P.—*op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.
143. Smith V.A.—*A History of Fine Arts in India & Ceylon* p. 14.
Bachhofer L.—*Early Indian Sculpture* p. 8, Marshall—*Mahenjodaro and Indus Valley Civilization* Vol. III, p. 658.
144. Bachhofer L—Above cited p. 8; Marshall—Indian Monuments in *Cambridge* History of India p. 463, Ray—*Maurya and Sunga Art*, p. 32.
145. Bachhofer L—Above *cit.* p. 8;
Saraswti S.K. *op. cit.*, p. 21;
Gupta *op. cit.*, 88-89.
146. Ray N.R. *op. cit.*, p. 18; Herzfield—*Iran in the Ancient East* p. 321: Thapar Romila—*op. cit.*, V.S. Agrawal however, is of the opinion that Mauryan polish too has nothing to do with Persian influence and is an indigenous

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innovation. In support of his ideas he has cited the examples from Epics specially Mahābhārata where the famous palace of Pāndavas is described to have the same metallic sheen. *Indian Art* pp. 104-5. B.P. Sinha also agrees with him. "Mauryan Art how much foreign how much indigenous?" A paper read in the International Seminar on "Influences and Interactions in Ancient Indian Art". Lucknow Dec. 1982 (unpublished). S.P. Gupta also thinks that this polish was of found in Son Bhandār Cave of Rajgir. It was only a coincidence that this polish was found on almost all of the Mauryan art objects and architectural finds. Later on he grudgingly accepted some foreign influence also. *The Roots of Indian Art* pp. 285-89.

147. Waddel L.A. *Reports on the Excavations of Patlipura*, 1903.
148. Spooner—*Mr. Ratan Raia's Excavations at Patliputra* A.S.I.A.R. 112-13 pp. 56-50.
149. Wheeler M—"Iran and India in per Islamic Times" Ancient Indian No. 4. 1947. pp. 85-191. Waddel, above cited; Spooner above cited.
150. McCrindle—India as described by Megasthenes and *Arrian.*
151. Agrawal V.S. *Indian Art* pp. 104-5; B.P. Sinha. *op. cited*, Gupta S.P., The *Roots* of *Indian Art* pp. 237-40.
Ghosh A—*Archaeological Remains. Monuments and Museums*—A.S.I. 1964.
152. Wheeler M. *Op. cited*, Ray N.R. *Op. cited* pp. 18-19;
K.A.N. Sastri—*Age of Nandas and Mauryas* p. 358.
153. Wheeler—*Op. cited*, Ray *Op. cited*; Sastri, above *cited.* Mario Bussagli & Sivaramamurti *C.—500 years of Indian Art* p. 58-59.
154. Agrawal V.S. *Op. cited*, pp. 104-5; Gupta S.P.—*Op. cited*, pp. 244-45. B.P. Sinha—*Op. cited.*
155. Sinha B.P & Ray S R. 1969—*Vaishali Excavations*—1958-62, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums; B.P. Sinha, "Mauryan Art, How much foreign, how much indigenous?"
156. Gupta S.P. *Op. cited.* p. 245.
157. Gupta S.P. *Op. cited.* p. 245. Agrawal V.S. *Op. cited*, p. 104-5; B.P. Sinha—*Op. cited.*
158. *Spooner*—"The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History" J.R.A.S. 1915-16 pp. 405-57; Marshall in Cambridge History of India p. 642; Sharma G.R. "New Light on the Origin of Stone Architecture in India", paper read at 26th International Congress of Orientalists; New Delhi 1966.
159. Rajgriha Caves were discovered by Buchman in 1812. Bapat (ed) 2500 *years* of Budhism p. 32.
160. Patil, D.R. 1963. "*The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar*" K.P. Jayaswal Institute p. 451.
161. Ray, N.R. *Op. cited* p. 17; Mitra, *Op. cited* page 130.

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162. A.S.I.R. 1919-20 Pt. I p. 23, 1920-21 pp. XVIII fig. 27 p. 20.
163. A.S.I.R.—1924-25 p. 24, Pt VIII fig. (d).
164. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
165. Supra, p. 72.
166. Supra, p. 66.
167. Srivastava V.C. is of the opinion that Magas came to India in many waves. Their first wave entered with the Achaemenians in 6th or 5th Cent. B.C. The second significant and more potent wave accompanied the Sakas in about lst Cent. A.D. The third wave of Magas who were the followers of Zoroaster must have left Iran in 6th Cent A.D. after the spread of Islam there. The Magas of this wave came to be known as Yajakas and Bhojakas in India. "The advent of Magas or Iranian preists in India" Seminar on Foreigners in Ancient India, Calcutta 1969, pp. 73-79; *Sun Worship in Ancient India* pp. 251-51.
Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya (*The Achaemenians in India* pp. 30-31) and Sankalia H.C. (*Archaeology of Gujarat* p. 212) also believe in the possibility of Magas entering India in 5th or 6th cent B.C. But Scholars like R.G. Bhandarkar (*Vaisnavism, Savism nnd Minor Religious Sects* p. 154) D.C. Sircar and Jairazbhoy R.A. (*Foreign Infiuence in Ancient India* p. 153) are of the opinion that Magas came to India with Indo Scythians in lst cent A.D.
168. *Bhandarkar R.C: Vaisnavism, Saivism and the Minor Religious Sects* p. 219: Srivastava V.C. "Advent of Magas or Iranian Priests in India" Seminar, "Foreigners in Ancient India", Calcutta 1969 p. 73.
169. *R.V.* III 59.
170. *Taitriya Upanishad* 11. 1. 12. 1.
171. Magas had the tradition of marrying their kith and kin and also of exposing their dead bodies to be devoured by vultures, which they are said to have introduced in India too. *Smith V.A. Early History of India* p. 153.
172. *Cunnigham A. Coins of Sakas* p. 22.
173. *Srivastava V.C. Sun Worship on Ancient India* p. 251.
174. Dani A.H.—"Excavations at Balambat" Ancient Pakistan Vol. III pp. 71-81.
175. *Girsyman R.--Iran* p. 156.
176. *Rawlinson. Intercourse between India and the Western World* p. 16.
177. *Puri B.N.—India in classical Greek Writing* p. 161.
178. *Cambridge Ancient History* IV p. 200.
179. *Herodotus* IV p. 44.
180. *Smith. Early History of India* p. 110; Chattopadhyaya S., "Foreign notices of Achaemenian India" I.H.Q. Vol. 26 1250 p. 102.
181. *Indica* 22 I, 271.
182. *Motichandra—Trade & Trade Routes in Ancient India* p. 49.

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183. *Mookerji—Indian Shipping* p. 82.
184. Unavla—"Political and Cultural Relations between Iran & India" ABORI Vol. 28 1947 p. 176; *Girshman, Iran* p. 163.
185. *Olmstead. History af Persian Empire* p. 145.

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CHAPTER THREE

Greece and India–Interaction and Synthesis

Contact between India and Greece

Under King Darius (522-486 B.C.), parts of India and Greece were joined in the same State, being the two ends of the vast Persian Empire. They both were the common citizens of one empire and Persia provided a common meeting ground for them. Indian troops, dressed in cotton garments and equipped with bows and arrows, formed the light division of the Persian army of first Xerxes[1](468-465) then Darius[2] III, fought Alexander at the historical battle of Gaugamela in 331 B.C. and shared the Persian defeat. These are the first recorded statements of the Greeks and the Indians facing each other in a large number.

Moreover, the policy of deportation pursued by the Persian emperors was also helpful in augmenting this contact. Darius I took Greek prisoners and settled them in Ampe,[3] a colony on the shores of the Erythrean Sea, near the place wherever Tigris flows in it. The remains of a Greek Colony have now been excavated at the island of Failaka, off Bahrin in Persian Gulf.[4] The place is identified with the island of Ikaros. Xerxes also founded an Ionian Greek colony between the boundries of Balkh and Samar kand.[5]

Although the ancient Greeks had no real knowledge of India, but they appear to have heard of her in a dim sort of way. It is clear from Homer[6] that they used articles of Indian merchandise, which were known by the names of Indian origin such as *elephas* (*Sans, Ibha*), *Kassiteros* (*Sans-Kastira*) and *Ivory* (*Sans-Ibhadanta*). The Greeks seem to be fond of Indian articles viz. rice peacock and sandal-wood, as recorded by Sophocles. These articles were probably imported, directly from India into Greece.[7] The first Greek writer, however, to mention India, is Hekataeus of Miletus, a contemporary

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of Skylax.[8] Probably he owed his information about India to Skylax.[9] The next Greek writer Herodotus, has provided a lot of information about India. His accounts include the details of the voyage of Skylax, of cotton and bamboo of India, gold digging ants as large as foxes, wool bearing trees, the wool of sheep and a number of myths.[10]

The book of Ctesias (died in 339 B.C.) about India—*Indika*—is full of extravagant stories and adds practically nothing to our knowledge.

The Greeks were known to Indians as Yavanas or Yonas (literally meaning Ionians) a people of Greek descent. In the Aṣtādhyāī of Pāṇini, there are several references to Yavanas. Pāṇini was an inhabitant of Śalātura, near Taxila and knew of the Yavanas and their script[11] which was not a heresay. The Greeks may have lived in the vicinity of his homeland. Like other Indian sources Pāṇini also associated Yavanas with Kambojas.[12]

The Rāmāyaṇa[13] refers to Yavana with a number of other tribes like Śakas, Kirātas and Kambojas. It also refers to the struggle of Hindus with mixed Yavana hordes of Śakas and Yavanas (Śaka Yavana miśritān).

In the Mahābhārata, the Yavanas are frequently mentioned. The Sabhāparva[14] mentions the conquest of Yavanas by Nakula. The Sāmparva[15] records that ambassadors were sent to the countries of the Yavanas. Sahadeva sent an embassy to Yavanapura[16] which has been identified with Alexandria,[17] and to Antakhi[18] which is equated with Antioch.[19]

If these identifications are correct then a possibility of definite diplomatic contacts between India and Greece can be presumed. In the Mahābhārat, Yavanas are mentioned as allies of Kurus, along with other people of North India like Kambojas, Śakas, Madras, Kaikeyas and Sindhus.[20] The name of a brave Yavna, Dattamitra[21] also occurs in the epic.

In Aśokan inscriptions[22] Yonas are mentioned with Kambojas. They lived in a territory, adjoining Gandhāra, but not outside India. The Yonas, in this period definitely stands for the Greeks.[23]

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There is considerable evidence both literary and numismatic that even before Alexander's invasion there were Greeks colonies in North Western region of India.[24] Ayona state is mentioned, along with Kambojas in Majjhima Nikāya[25] as flourishing in the time of Gautama Buddha and Assakāyana. The fact that Alexander found several Greek settlements in the Trans-Indus and Afganistan areas during the course of his invasion[26] is further evidence of these early contacts. The people of Nyasa,[27] whose President was Adouphis,[28] called themselves Greeks and claimed descent from the Greek god Dionysus. The sacred plant of the god viz. vine and ivy (which grew no where in India) was running wild over the mountains. Alexander befriended them and three hundred of them on[29] their mountains horses joined the army of the Yavana King.

Contact by Conquest

Up till now the contact between India and Greece had remained Socio-cultural, carried through peaceful means but its next phase began with the conquest, when Alexander with a Greaco-Persian army crossed the Hindukush, invaded the Punjab in 326 B.C., and defeated Paurava (Porus) and the adjoining monarchial and republican states which, though vanquished in the end, faced his onslaught with courage. Alexander wanted to march eastward, but his troops refused to advance, as they were tired and scared to face the powerful monarch of Magadh. Much against his wishes, Alexander had to withdraw, and disappointed, he died soon[30] thereafter in 326 B.C. at the age of thirtytwo. This indeed was the contact on a large scale when forces on both sides fought and mixed with each other.

The invasion of Alexander did not make any permanent political impact on India, so much so that contemporary Indian literature ignored it altogether. But it did have some indirect results which effected on India for a long time to come. The most important among these were his[31] Greek settlements inside and outside India Alexander brought Hellenism to the very door step of India and the centuries old indirect and sporadic contact between India and Greece was

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thereafter made direct, intensive and close, leading to the intensification of the processes of cultural interaction.

Many distinguished scholars also accompanied Alexander on his Indian expedition, who wanted to learn about India's religion and thought which, they had known only indirectly till then. Aristotle, unable to come, himself had sent his nephew[32] Callesthenes, a philosopher and historian, in his place. Anaxarchus and his pupil Pyrron (d. 275 B.C.) who later founded the Pyrronian school of Sceptic thought before the Stoics, also came with him. Alexander, pupil of Aristotle was himself anxious to acquint himself with Indian thought and invited Indian sages and ascetics to meet him but they refused. One sikrites, a desciple of Diogenes, the Cynic, was sent by Alexander to persuade them. Dandamis, and old Indian sage, dismissed with contempt, both the offers of wealth and death but Kalanos[33] agreed in the end to accompany. Alexander, having left no heir behind, his intensive empire was broken up into territories acquired by his generals[34] who carved out powerful kingdoms for themselves in West Asia. These were five in computation of Aśoka.[35] Most powerful among them being, Ptolemy Lagus of Egypt and Seleucus who captured the Asian part of Alexander's empire stretching from Syria to Bactria and also parts of Indo-Iranian borderlands. The result was the Hellenization of the whole of Western Asia.

As a matter of fact when Alexander invaded the Persian empire and overthrew it, the dissemination of Hellenic civilization in Asia began on a large scale.[36] But this was by no means the starting point. The process has been going on for many centuries before when Greeks had frequented Syria and Egypt as traders, served in Egypt, Babylon and in the Persian empire as mercenaries and had been carried as deportees as far as Sogdiana beyond the river Oxus.[37] The pre-Alexandrine coins of Greek city had circulated in the Persian Empire's markets in competition with the Imperial currency.[38] Alexander's invasion and conquest gave it a voilent trust and Hellenism moved to occupy the derelict domains of the Persian empire. The main instrument of this whole operation was the network of the Greek cities[39] founded first by Alexander then by his successor Seleu-

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cus and the Greek rulers of Oxus Jazartes basin who ceded from Seleucids and eventually conquered North-West India. The most noteworthy among these cities were Alexandria, the capital of Ptolemies, Antioch the capital of Seleucids and Seleucia, the centre of East West trade. Alexandria played a very important role in the dissemination of Hellenism as the focus of post Alexandrine science philosophy and scholarship shifted from Athens to Alexandria on Nile.[40]

Peaceful Contact : Mauryan Period

The Indian part of Alexander's empire was now ruled by Chandragupta, who founded the mighty Mauryan Empire on the ruins of the Nanda dynasty after defeating the remaining vestiges of Greek power in India. Seleucus undertook an expedition to India in 306 B.C. to claim for himself what had been conquered by Alexander. But he was defeated by Chandragupta Maurya and Seleucus ceded to his conquerer, his four eastern provinces of Aria, Arachosia, Gedrosia and Paropamisade[41] which brought the Indian broder in the north west to the region near Bactria, on the other side of Hindukush. In return Chandragupta presented Seleucus with five hundred elephants.[42] Peace was ratified by a matrimonial alliance[43] between the two rival parties. Thus in the 4th and 3rd centuries emerged two great political powers in Asias—the Mauryans and the Greeks, the repositories of the two great civilizations of the world—the Indian and the Greek respectively. It is an established fact of history that these two met and interacted most fruitfully, although the evidence available on the extent and nature of the interaction is fragmentry.

After the initial skirmishes peaceful relations were established between the Mauryan kings, especially the first three—Chandragupta, Bindusāra and Aśoka—and the Greek Kings of Western Asia. The system of the exchange of embassies started by Mauryan kings was certainly a new tool of Indian polity in developing India's politico-cultural contacts with distant lands. Chandragupta Maurya received Megasthenes[44] from Seleucus, Bindusāra received Daimachus of Plataea[45] again from the successor of Seleucus, Antiochus I (281-260 BC) and Dionysus from Egypt. The Mauryan Kings fully

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reciprocated these friendly feelings. Chandragupta Maurya sent a few precious gifts including some Indian drugs to Seleucus.[46] From time to time Mauryan Kings also sent their ambassadors not only to the countries from which they themselves received ambassadors but also to a few other countries as is evident from the 13th Rock Edict of Aśoka at Kalsi.[47] It is significant to observe that these embassies did not maintain their relationship with the king and courts alone, they contacted the people also.[48] Since these embassies are known to have included distinguished persons in different branches of learning, each one of them carried the best of the country's traits and the choicest of the country's produce.[49] Thus, there was always fruitful exchange of knowledge and material items. It is on record that an embassy was sent by Aśoka to the court of Antigonas Gontas as the two had similar philosophical outlook.[50] According to the Mahāvaṁśa[51] a Buddhist mission left for the country of the Yonas in the time of Aśoka and the monk Mahārakhsita gave a discourse on the Kāla Karma Suthānta, to a gathering of people, as a result of which 170,000 attained salvation and 10,000 received prabajyā. Moreover in Memphis,[52] there was a colony of Indian merchants and Alexandria knew many of them coming and going for the purpose of trade.[53]

Aśoka's bilingual inscription in Greek and Aramaic, found at Kandahār, shows a close contact between Mauryan India and the Hellenistic world and also points to well-established colony of Greek settlers or at least Greek speaking people to justify the inscription in Greek.[54] The separate department of Mauryan organization to look after the foreigners, attested by Megasthenes,[55] indicates the presence of number of foreigners, such as envoys, tourists and traders in the Mauryan Empire. The reference to an officer, called Vivitādyakṣha,[56] in the Arthaśāstra, whose duty was to check the passports, may also be a supporting evidence of this fact.[57]

After the decline of Mauryan Empire Antiochus III (222-187 B.C.) of Syria again renewed his alliance with Subhagsenus,[58] the Indian king in Kabul Valley in 206 B.C. The Greek king was received with royal honours and ceremony when he reached Kabul

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valley after crossing Hindukush and received many elephants. The librarian of Antiochus III knew quite a lot about India and has described the people of Mauryan times as living in wooden houses.[59] According to Polybius,[60] a Greek envoy, sent by Antiochus III visited the court of an Indian king Sāliśuka and the purpose of the visit was the maintenance of trade routes to India under Greek control. Sāliśuka must have been the name of Subhagsena.[61]

Again, according to Polybius[62] Antiochus IV (176-165 B.C.) exhibited 800 tusks of elephants and Indian Ivory in his triumphal procession at Daphne in 166 B.C. According to a Syrian writer Zenob[63] there was an Indian Colony in Upper Euphrates, to the west of Lake Van in the 2nd cent B.C. Indians built there two temples containing images of gods about 18 and 22 feet high which were destroyed by St Gregory in 304 A.D.

Throughout the Mauryan period there was close, regular and peaceful contact with the Greek kings of Western Asia which was responsible for seeping of Hellinic ideas, philosophy, religion, art and the new discoveries in the field of science and astronomy carried on at Alexandria, As already noticed[64] the whole of Western Asia was saturated with Hellinism and these contacts intensified the peaceful infiltration of the same into India.

Further Contacts through conquest

Next the Graeco Bactrian kings came on the scene and the diplopmatic exchanges between India and Greece were replaced by contacts through conquests. By about 250 B.C. Graeco-Bactrain kings headed by Diodotus, severed their ties with the Seleucid empire of Syria and established their independent rule. These kings, checked in the West by the rising power of Parthia tried to extend their territories towards the east in North West India, across the Hindu Kush.[65] The most important among them were Demetrius (C 180-165 B.C.) and Menander (C 180-160 B.C.) who conquered the Kabul Valley, Sind, the Punjab and perhaps extended their sway up to Saurashtra and Gujrat.[66] Plularch, calls Demetrius "Rex Indorum" or 'the king of

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the Indians.' Demetrius was the first Graeco-Bactrian king to have invaded India proper and struck bilingual coins.[67] The greatest of the Indo-Greek kings was Manander and he was converted to Buddhism by monk Nagāsena. In the beginning these kings held sway over Bactria as well as India. Heliocles was the last such ruler. Soon thereafter, the rising power of Parthia and the nomad tribes from the north occupied Bactria, which confined the rule of the Indo-Greek kings to the North-Western parts of India, where they continued to rule from different centres, till the end of 1st cent B.C. These Indo-Greek principalities which lasted for about two centuries played a very significant role in Hellenic-Indian history.

This long and continuous contact sometimes peaceful, sometimes through conquests, between India and Greece, spreading over a span of several centuries left its marks on several aspects of Indian culture, art coinage, religion, philosophy, literature and the sciences. One thing which one finds of common interest between the two nations was their attitude towards life and its problems. Both the Greeks and Indians were men of intellectual curiousity and believed in reasons.[68] The Grceks like Indians were always seeking a religion and philosophy[69] of life which affected all their activities and which were intended to produce an equillibrium and a sense of harmony.

This idea emerges in every aspect of their lives,[70] in literature, in art, in all the social institutions and it provides a seuse of proportion and completeness. Both were tolerant and broad minded people enjoyed life and loved the beauty of nature and art.[71] Most Greeks were neither pleasure seekers nor ascetics and took life as it came.[72] In ancient India although there were ascetics, the great majority of people led a healthy life of comfort in which physical pleasure was supposed to be natural.[73] It was a maturely advanced, socially enlightened and psycologically uninhibited society. This affinity of the Greek and Indian attitude, was the prime factor in the cultural intercourse between the two people down the ages.

Art & Architecture

Now to revert back to the earlier discussion of the result of the contact between these two mighty civilizations. One of the most

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outstanding and abiding result was the appearance of Gandhāra School of Indian Art.[74] It is called Gandhāra Art because it developed in the kingdom of Greek rulers and its vicinity which was known by that name in ancient time as a janapada. It spread between Jhelum and Taxila to Bamiyan and Jalalabad.[75] Peshawar was its main centre. But this is the geographical extent of Gandhāra. The art which was created as a result of this contact ranged beyond this up to Mathurā[76] and Sānchi[77] in the East to Kasmir in the North and to the Indian cultural settlements in Central Asia along the silk route[78] from where it travelled to China, Japan, Tibet and South East Asia. The style is populary known as the Gandhāra style or Grasteeco-Buddhist or Graeco-Roman style.

The precise chronology of Gandhāra Art is still uncertain and is a controversial matter. Broadly speaking it emerged after the decline of the Greek power in the middle of lst Cent B.C.[79] and reached its peak between 50 B.C. to 200 A.D. under Kushāṇas.[80] None of the sculptures is found later than 400 A.D.[81]

The Gandhāra school stands apart from the main current of Indian Art. Its technique is Hellniestic but it also comprises Parthian and Scythian trends.[82] The period in which this art developed and matured was also the time when besides Greeks other foreign tribes entered India and established their territories.[83] The Greeks were defeated by the Parthians and the Śakas, who in their turn were overpowered by the Kushāṇas, who ruled in the North West India till about the end of 2nd cent A.D. Therefore this technique can best be described as eclectic[84] though the Hellenistic trends were dominant.

The theme and the motifs cultivated in this school are purely Indian and almost exclusively Buddhist. Greek Craftsmen working on Indian themes—stories from the Jātakas, life of the Buddha in all its aspect and detail carved out great compositions in the freezes and in the round as well. The image of the Buddha dominates the composition. The portrayal of Buddha in human form in Gandhāra Art is an innovation. There is no tradition of idol worship in the period of the Vedas and Upanisads. Buddha had also forbidden his followers, from making his image and hence in early Buddhism he

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was represented by symbols the Bodhi tree, foot prints, chattra, wheel of law and empty throne. As opposed to this the Greeks had a long tradition of the inconographic representation of the gods. With the rise of Mahāyāna later in the first cent A.D. when Buddha as a teacher was substituted by Buddha the Saviour, the cult of Bhakti penetrated Buddhism[85] and the need for a personal god was felt and the figure of Buddha was carved out for the first time. The question of the place of origin of the Buddha image is fraught with controversies but it seems that between them, both Mathurā and Gandhāra School[86] introduced the figure of Buddha and Bodhi sattvas in the Indian Art.

The Gandhāra artist portrayed the image of the Buddha on the model of Apollo.[87] The contours of this style are perfectly Greek and the drapery has the folds of the manner of the dress worn by the Greek and Roman philosophers. The head of Buddha bears knotted wavy hair on the crown. But the image had all the iconographic marks and traits of the Indian tradition, all the canonical symbols traditionally belonging to him.[88] The Gandhāra image of the Bodhisattva starving himself to death is perhaps the most incongrous example of the mixture of Indian and Greek theme "Here is a thoroughly un-Greek theme in an equally un-Indian style."[89]

No trace of Greek architecture has been found in India but the excavations at Taxilā, Charsaddā, Haddā and Kashmir have brought to light many monastries and temples (like Mārtanda temple in Kashmir) which show the influence of Greek style reflected in their Ionian, Doric and Corinthian pillars.[90]

Coinage :

Another influence of the Greeks was felt in the sphere of coinage. The earliest coins of India were silver and copper punch marked coins. They were irregular in shape, crude in designand fabric. On the other hand coins of the Greeks kings were perfect pieces of art, beautifully executed, of a regular shape and embossed on both the sides. A legend was always inscribed on almost all of these coins. There is a close resemblance between the Seleucid coins and the coins of Sophyte,[91] the enigmatic Salt range ruler, and it seems

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that the latter were probably modelled after the former. But the real numismatic influence was exercised when Graeco-Bactrian kings occupied Indian territories and actually struck coins in India.

Of the earliest Greek kings the coins of Pantaleon, Agathocles Eucratides I and Demetrius III are of considerable importance. Pantaleon and Agathocles were the first princes who issued for circulation in India a series of bilingual square copper coins. Though a Greeks legend is inscribed on the obverse and they are of unmistakable Greek workmanship they depict on the obverse a legend in Prakrit written in Brahmī, and a figure, some times identified as Yakṣiṇī Aśvamukhī.[92] Their weight was of indigenous standard and they followed the technique of manufacture peculiar to India. Thus instead of casting any influence on indigenous issues, they were themselves influenced by coins of purely indigenous origin.[93]

But the coins of Eukratides I and Demetrius III followed the Greek technique of manufacture and were of Greek fabric and device. Their legends (both obverse and reverse) followed the Greek formula consisting of royal title and epithet and the name of the king. The bilingual silver coins of both of these kings were not of Attic weight standard but followed the 80-ratti standard. Silver coins of Eukratides, were however of lower denomination and weighed 20 rattis, while those of Demetrius were of higher 80 ratti denomination. This weight standard became immensely popular both with foreign rulers as well as Indian princes.[94] In fact 80 ratti silver standard successfully replaced the traditional 32-ratti standard of the Silver Kārṣāpaṇas, otherwise known as punch marked coins.

The influence of the silver coins of the Indo-Greeks was of abiding nature. For nearly a millennium to come silver money of Indian princes was set of Indo-Greek standard, fabric and depiction of devices and legend. The most noteworthy among these Indian princes were Audumbara Mahādeva and Rudravarman Kuṇinda Amoghabhūti Vṛiṣṇi Jñagaṇa.[95]

However, the Indo-Greek Kings were followed by the Śakasand Pahalvas. The coins of these kings were in most cases the slavish

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replicas of the coins of Indo Greek kings. Silver coins of Western Kshatrapas, especially Nahpāna and Chaṣṭana are copied from the hemidrachms of the Greek princes of the Punjab.[96]

Philosophy

Ancient Greece is supposed to be the fountain head of the European Civilization and Greek inheritance was claimed in every field, thought, political system, trade and finance, civil life, schools, sports, gymnasium, trial by jury, art, literature, rather everything worth the name.[97] Sir Henry Maine[98] has said, "except the blind forces of nature nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in origin". Modern research, however, has put the Greek culture in its proper historical perspective showing that like any other culture it inherited something from the older civilizations[99] and it borrowed many elements from the progressive neighbouring cultures of Egypt, Babylon, Persia and India as well.[100]

Most of the Greek philosophers and especially the founders of the four principal philosophical fraternities that were housed in Athens were residents of Asian Greece except Plato.[101] Clement of Alexandria went so far as to say that Greeks "stole their philosophy from Barbarians".

Indian philosophy seems to have travelled far into the West and influenced philosophical thought there.[102] Greek philosophy is a later development and is said to have started with Thales of Miletus[103] (6th cent B.C.). By this time Indian Philosophical thought was already in a mature state and, therefore, it is not surprising if Greek thought was influenced by Indian ideas, especially in the background of the close long drawn contact which existed between the two countries.

The theory of Thales that water is the material cause of all the things in the Universe is very similar to the Vedic idea of primeval water as the cause of the Universe.[104] Again the idea of Anaximander that the first principle is not water but infinite atmosphere and that of his pupil Anaximenes, that it is air which is the source of the

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world, are derived from the almost similar Vedic[105] theories which these Greek philosophers learnt when they were in Persia, on a "mission of pilgrimage for philosophical studies."[106]

The doctrine of Heraclitus (500 B.C.) that "all bodies are transformations of fire, and everything that exists is derived from it and strives to return to it is defined in exactly the same way in the Chāndogya Upanishad.[107] The theory of "the enternity and indestructability of matter", propounded by Empedocles (C 450 B.C.) can be traced to Sānkhya principle of the beginningless and endless reality of all products.[108] He also believed in the transmigration of souls and in the development of the material world out of primeval matter, which is governed by three virtues—lightness, activity and heaviness—similar to the three guṇas of Sānkhya philosophy—Sattva, rajas and tamas.[109]

With the coming of Pythagoras[110] (532 B.C.) the Greek philosophy became pronouncedly mystical. He was the first Greek thinker to preach metempsychosis. Pythagoras drew inspiration from Tracian poet Orpheus. Orphism[111] was a free religion believing in the transmigration of soul and its immortality, Dionysus is the god of this cult. There is no insuperable gulf between god and the soul. Pythagoras believed like Upanishadic thinkers[112] that if the transmigration of soul is possible then all the living beings are akin.[113] He believed not only in the rebirth but also in the purification of soul through virtue by which it can get release from the cycle of rebirths.[114] Pythagoras enjoined an ascetic way of living, eating vegetarian food, and preaching absentation from killing animals and eating meat of anykind. Again his philosophy that nothing can arise which has not existed before and nothing existing can be annihilated is exactly similar to the Sānkhyan doctrine about eternity and indestructability of matter.[115] Pythagoras also organized a celibate brotherhood, somewhat similar to the Buddhists but its aim was political rather than religious.[116]

Indian influence on Pythogoras is strengthened by the fact that such ideas as doctrine of metempsychosis Vegetarianism, taboo

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on eating meat and some kinds of beans as well and killing animals are alien to Greek thought of the time and they appear in Pythagoras without any connection or visible background. Perhaps Pythagoras learnt these ideas from India as Imbalichus[117] the biographer of Pythagoras reports, that he travelled widely, studying the teachings of Egyptians, Assyrians and Brahmins. Herodotus[118] ascribes this inspiration to the Egyptian source. However, it is now quite certain that Egyptians did not believe in the transmigration of soul[119] at all. Yet at the same time the possibility of Pythagoras' visit to India at such an early date, seems remote.[120] He appears to have acquired the knolwedge of Indian thought, in that age of intellectual fermentation[121] in Persia[122] as his home town Ionia was under the Persian rule.

At about the same time Zenophanes (C 575 B.C.) the father of Eleatic School propounded that the God and the Universe are one, eternal and unchangeable which is similar to the Upanishadic doctrine of All in One [123] (Eko Bramhoasmi).

The atomic theory of Democritus and Leucippus (5th cent. B.C.) closely resembles the Vaiśeṣikha philosophy of Kanada that the world is composed of atoms.[124] The Jains nearly approximated to Democritus by teaching that all the atoms were of the same kind producing different effects by diverse modes of combination.[125] Both Leucippus and Democritus had travelled widely in the east and possibly met Indians in Persia.[126]

The mystic tradition of Pythagoras finds its fullest expression in Plato (427-347 B.C.). In his philosophy, the central theme is man and his social, political and religous attainment. The ultimate aim of man is the Good and The Truth which is unchangeable, eternal and divine. Plato's idea of Good is very much like the supreme God of Upaniṣads, which leads the man from darkness to light.[127] The dominating thought in Plato is that ordinary man is not truly awake but is walking about like a sleep walker in pursuit of phantoms. The things which we see are shadows or 'mayan' and the truth and reality are beyond it. The simile of the cave referred

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to in his 7th Book of Republic reminds us of the Vedāntic doctrine of Māyā or illusion.[128] According to Plato, truth of things is always in the soul which is immortal and indestructable. He also believes in the transmigration and reincarnation of soul.[129]

In the 'vision of the Pamphylion,' with which Plato closes his Republic, he clearly states his doctrine of reincarnation and Karma[130], "each soul returning to a second life and receiving the one agreeable to his desire." Plato considers the body as the fetter from which the soul tries to liberate itself and ascend to the realm of divine reality which is 'The Good'. The most effective way to attain this goal is through ascetecism. This idea was like a "drop of alien blood" in the view of Greeks[131] of the time who made much of the body. This doctrine shows Indian influence[132] distinctly Sānkhyan.[133] Plato's conception for his Republic is probably an echo of the Indian ideas and the division of his ideal into three orders, Gurdians Auxiliaries and Workers—reminds one of the Indian Varnas, Brāhmins, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas.[134]

Then again, the three Indian guṇas (constituents of Prakriti) sattva, rajas and tamas have the exact equivalents in Plato's Logistikon, Thumos and Epithumia.[135] Epithumia, like tamas represents blind desire with its character of ignorance; Thumos is, like rajas, elements of passion and power standing midway between ignorance and knowledge. The Logistikon, or the rational elements answer to the sattva quality which harmonises the soul and illumines it.

It is said that Plato was out on a cultural tour to Asia and he visited Persia and there is a view that he was also in India for some time.[136]

After Plato, from the 4th century onwards the contact with India became direct and intense. Pyrron (C 360-270 B.C.) whose sceptical doctrines formed the basis of Stoic and Epicurean School took part in Alexander's expedition in India and perhaps held frequent meetings with Gymnosophists[137] in India and in Persia[138] with Magi priests. The greatest Stoic philosopher was Zeno[139] of Citium (C 335-363) who introduced this philosophy in Athens though he was a Phoenecian.

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Stoics were not concerned with the idea of a limited community of self governing city state but visualized an universal brotherhood of man. According to this philosophy, the world was ruled by one Supreme power whom the Stoics envisaged under many aspects and names—God, Destiny, Providence, Zeus, Universal Law and Nature. Everything is a derivative of God and therefore, is God. Human mind has sparks of divine fire but human body is clay. Therefore, body mattered nothing. Wealth and poverty, sickness and health are matters of indifference. Wise men do not worry about them but attend to the things of the soul. Like Zeno his immediate successors Heraclides Antipater and Zeno of Tarsus were also natives of Phoenecia. Considering that all of them came from West Asian territory, which at this time was the common meeting ground between Indian and Greece, it is not unreasonable to suppose that some parts of Stoic philosophy, particularly those which are in sharp contrast to the Greek thought and resemble Indian doctrine[140], such as universal brotherhood of man, conception of the world soul, man containing a spark of divine fire, renunciation of sensual pleasures and emphasis on selfless action which have Upanisadic[141] ring may have been influenced by the latter.

The rival system of Stoicism was Epicureanism so called after his founder Epicurus (341-220 B.C.). Epicureanism taught that pleasure and absence of pain were the principal aims of life. Pleasure came from virtue, reason, justice and knowledge of nature. They shared stoic monism but rejected all divine interference in life. Their aim was to liberate man from all superstitions and fear of death and insisted upon pleasure as a pre-requisite for virtuous living. This negative but benevolent attitude to life is also influenced by Indian philosophy.[142]

It is an universally accepted fact that Gnosticism is profoundly influenced by Indian ideas both Upaniṣadic and Buddhist.[143] By this time as a result of the missionary activities of Aśoka accompanied by the trade relations between India and West Asia, Buddhism had spread to Bactria, Parthia, Syria and the Soviet Central Asia.[144] Pliny admits in his 'Natural History' that a large number of Buddhists were resident

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in Syria, Palestine and Egypt. Moreover towards the close of 3rd cent. B.C. Alexandria, under Ptolemies was a famous seat of learning, a common meeting ground of the Greeks and Asians.

The basic concept of this philosophy, gnosis or the knowledge of the God, is similar to Jnana-Kānda[145] of Hindus. Their God too, is devoid of all attributes like the Nirguṇa[146] Bramha of Hindu concept. This is a deeply mystical religion. They all believed that world was bad, being controlled by evil or ignorance and could not be redeemed. But the divine spark imprisoned in men could attain salvation by divine grace. Many of the Gnostic philosophers believed in the pre-existence and rebirth of human soul. The highest aim of this soul is to shake off the imprisonment of body and ascend to the heaven of the Supreme God. This journey lies through various heavens in between. This Gnostic idea of the plurality of heavens and spiritual worlds reflects the theory of innumerable gods or Bodhi-Sattvas propounded by the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism.[147] Also interesting in this context are the writings of Bardesnes (155-133 A.D.) the well-known Gnostic teacher who wrote a book on Indian Religion.[148]

Gnosticism found a new lease of life in the Philosophy of Mani.[149] Its founder, Mani or Manes was a native of Ecbatana, had travelled to India and aimed to establish a universal religion which was a fusion of Zoroastranism, Buddhism and Gnostic doctri nes.[150] His doctrine of Plurality of heavens is essentially Buddhist and its three qualities resemble the three guṇas of Sānkhya system.[151] A Manichean treatise written in the form of Buddhist Sūtra is found at Tun-Huang in China, which speaks of its founder Mani as Tathāgata and mentions Buddha and Bodhisattva.[152]

In the final phase of the development of Greek thought viz. the religious philosophy of New Platonism, direct traces of Indian influence[153] can be seen. New Platonism reached its culmination in the work of Plotinus (C. 205-270 B.C.) the greatest thinker of the ancient world.[154] Plotinus looks upon the world as "an outflow, a diffusion of divine" echoing thereby the Vedic view of the

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desire of the one to be many impressed through the divine utterance *ekoham bahusyām.*[155] Plotinus declares that world is full of snares and illusions and the ultimate declares aim of man is union with the Supreme through meditation. This is nothing but a restatement of Maya and Yoga philosophy of Vedānta.[156] Plotinus believed in rebirth, transmigration of soul and the law of Karma and Moksha which is a cardinal Hindu doctrine.[157] The Western world was much influenced by the philosophy and learning of India.

Indian wisdom was undoubtedly in high repute at this time. Thus we find Philostratus expressing high veneration for the learning of India, Apollonius of Tyan (C 50 A.D.) going to Taxilā to study under Brāhmin teachers Clement of Alexandria (150–218 A.D.) referring to Buddha, the Brahmins and the doctrine of transmigration.[158] When Christianity arose in Western Asia, Indian religion and culture were already known and honoured there. It is not a mere coincidence that many basic similarities are found between the two.[159] The resemblance between the internal arrangement of the Christian Church and Buddhist Chaitya hall, the rigorous asceticism of early Christian sects, the philosophy of metempsychosis, relic worship, the use of rosary seem to be Indian survivals.[160]

Mathematics

Next to philosophy both the Greeks and Indians had mathematics[161] as their second love. Both made important discoveries in that branch but their outlook was somewhat different. The Greeks paid more attention to geometry[162] and subordinated arithmetic and algebra while Indians based their mathematics on numbers.[163] It is now an universally accepted fact that Indians invented numeral figures including zero and the decimal system, now used all over the world. In this system all the numbers can be expressed by means of ten symbols, each symbol receiving the value of position, as well as an absolute value.[164] These number symbols were unique and entirely different from all other symbols that had been in use in other countries of antiquity. Until this time fundamental arithmetical operations were done by using symbols for writing

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numbers. They did not use the zero symbols and their task was extremely tedious and limited. In the Indian notation, any number however large could be easily expressed which was not possible before this discovery. The introduction of the Indian system led to remarkable scientific progress in mathematics and in the field of exact sciences[165] all over the world. "The unknown man who devised this new system was from the world's point of view after Buddha, the most important son of India."[166] The symbol of Zero arose out of the concept of Śūnya,[167] Void or nothingness in Hindu and Buddhist philosophy[168] which indicates that the world was neither real nor unreal.[169] "Bringing this metaphysical notion into realm of science and giving this concept not only a form a shape, a symbol but helpful power is characteristic of Hindu race, from whence it sprung. It is like coining the Nirvana into dynamos."[170]

It appears that the system of Zero and place value notation was known in India from quite an early time as it appears in *Chandrah Sūtra* attributed to *Pingala* (200 B.C.). It implies a knowledge of zero though it is not named. The Indian numerals, as such, are found on the rock edicts of Aśoka (256 B.C.). There is a view that Babylonians developed the place value notation in their sexagesimal system in their clay tablets from about 1600 B.C,[171] but they did not use it in computation. India was the first country to use the complete decimal system of place notation.[172] From India it went outside. *Severus Sebokht*, a Syrian Scholar of 7th cent A.D., refers to Hindu decimal place value notation as "Computing that surpasses description" and is full of praise for the ingenuity with which it was formulated.[173] The Indian decimal place value notation spread up to Indo-China, Indonesia, China and Japan,[174] probably through Buddhist missionaries.[175] Arabs learnt these numerals from India[176] in the 9th cent. A.D., preserved them and passed them on to the awakening Europe, hence the name Arabic numerals for the numbers originated in India. The Arabs themselves never laid any claim to their invention and always showed their indebtedness to Hindus both for numerals, decimal notation and zero and called them *ilmhindi*–the

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knowledge of India, and their word for numerals was *Hindash* from India.[177]

It is now a commonly accepted fact that algebra first originated in India[178] or perhaps developed both by the Hindus and the Greeks independently[179] but the Hindus deplayed proficiency in it exceeding anything ever achieved by the Greeks.[180] Even its name adopted by Arabs *al-jabr* (adjustment) indicates that it came to Europe from Arab via India[181] rather than from Greece. Indian progress in algebra was due to their benefit of good arithmetical notation. Algebra and arithmetic are so closely allied that the invention of algebra and calculus was easier and natural where arithmetic was best handled.[182] The Greeks were at a disavantage here and moreover they were more occupied with geometry. Diophantus of Alexandria (3rd cent.) was the first Greek algebraist. There is no marked identity between these two systems and no proof that Diophantus got his inspiration from India.[183]

Geometry

In the field of geometry the Greeks were the forerunners in the world. Through their contact with the ancient civilization of Egypt and Babylonia, the Ionian Greeks became acquainted with certain elementary rules in geometry and astronomy.[184] Egyptain geometry was mensuration for land survey and architecture[185] and Chaldean astronomy was a store-house of the knowledge of the continued observation of the firmament together with the measurement of angles, calculations of line etc.[186] Working on these lines the Greeks made geometry a science pioneered by Thales of Miletus[187] (6th cent. B.C.). Next came Phythagoras, father of Greek Mathematics, who advanced the science of geometry as a study pursued for its own sake. Pythagoras and his followers worked on elements[188] (straight lines and curves) but later on mathematicians like Hippocrates of Chios (middle of 5th cent. B.C.) and Democritus of Abdera[189] (C. 460-328 B.C.) carried the geometry beyond elements by trisecting any angle, squaring the circle and duplicating the cube which do not yield to elementary methods.

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One of the greatest Greek geometricians was Euclid (3rd cent. B.C.) who taught and formed a school at Alexandria. His work on elements "Elementa" in thirteen volumes had been as popular as the Bible.[190] This age saw big advancement in the knowledge of geometry and the rapid progress was made in this field by Aristarchus of Samos (310-230 B.C.) who intensified the application of geometrical process and trigonometrical ratios to astronomy.[191] He attributed to the earth the daily rotation on its axis[192] and that the earth and other propounded planets, revolve round the sun before Copernicus[193] (1473-1543). Archimedes of Syracuse (287-212 B.C.) the most original genius among the Greek mathematicians, first discovered the Law of floating Bodies[194] the system of pulleys to draw things[195] and also developed Archimedian screw for pumping water.[196] The great mathematician and astronomer Hipparchus Nicaea (160-125 B.C.) developed the methods of trigonometry.[197] His greatest discovery was the procession of equinoxes and summer and winter solstice.[198]

The Hindus were not so successful in geometry though a remarkable knowledge of the same is found in the Vedic age. The earliest examples have survived in a series of manuals called Śulvasūtras which give practical rules for the rite of agnichayana—construction of Vedi for the sacrifice. The practical rules contained in them presuppose knowledge of various geometrical operations, although the latter are not enunciated and discussed.[199] There must have been a practical knowledge of Pythagorean theorem of the transformation of areas and of doubling the squares.[200] This was primarily a practical and empirical geometry dealing with the need of religious life and ritual. Indians were more interested in mensuration but they completely ignored giving definition, postulating axioms or steps of logical reasoning.[201] It appears that this high standard in geometry was not maintained in India and the later Indian mathematicians like Āryabhatta, Bhāskara and Varāhmihira were influenced by the work of Greek geometricians.[202]

Astronomy

It is difficult to separate astronomy from mathematics as both are closely linked together. Astronomy is another field where Greek

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influence was deeply felt in India. Astronomical study began very early in India and the Vedas are now generally accepted as incorporating the beginnings of Indian astronomical knowledge.[203] This knowledge was of great use in determining the time of sowing and harvesting[204] for making careful calculations of time for their rituals and sacrifices[205] and so on. The Vedic Indians made a comprehensive study of stars, lunar and solar years[206] according to which an year of 360 or 365 days is divided into twelve months. The Yajurveda lists about twentyeight constellations called nakshatras.[207] The nakshatra system continued to grow in India even after the introduction of Greek astrology.[208]

In Vedāngajyotish, composed at the close of the Vedic period, Indians determined equinoctical and solstical points[209] and associated these with Agni and Indra, Mitra and Varuṇa. The Vedic astronomy is also the material underlying a Jain work Sūryapannati.[210] Garga[211] is supposed to be the most ancient Hindu astronomer followed by Parāśara[212] whose name is connected with the Vedic Calendar.

After the Vedic literature there is a gap of about more than thousand years when there was an upsurge of astronomical studies in the 5th and 6th cent. A.D. By now India had already come in close contact with Greece and the process of silent but deep interchange of ideas and mutual stimulation was at work, between these two strong civilizations. As a result, a sort of revolution took place in the field of astronomy and Greek science was freely accepted and incorporated in Indian works. Hindu astronomy, in its scientific form, as distinct from the Vedic astronomy, is derived from Alexandrian School and its technical nomenclature is also to a large extent Greek[213] in a slightly disguised form. In Greece, the study of astronomy started with Thales (c. 636-570 B.C), founded by Anixamander (B.C. 610-547) who declared that the earth moved round its axis and the moon reflects the sun's light, invented the gnomon, observed the solistices and equinoxes, and was developed by Pythagoras and Anaxagoras, who ascribed the cosmical adjustments to intelligent design. This astronomical research was continued by Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, Cicero, Pliny down to Claudius Ptolemy[214] (A.D. 100-160).

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The Siddhāntas, the earliest Indian astronomical treatises, were based on Greek Science and were full of Greek notions. The great Indian astronomers of this time were Āryabhatta (A.D. 500), Varāhamihira and Brahmgupta. These scholars adopted in Hindu usage the Greek division of sky into zodiacal constellations, which Greeks learnt from Babylonians[215]. They made a calendar of twelve months each of thirty days, inserting an intercalary month every five years; they calculated with remarkable accuracy the diameter of the moon, the eclipses of the sun and the moon, the position of the poles and the position and the motion of major stars and propounded the theory, though not the law, of gravity.[216]

The great astronomer Varāhmihira wrote his Panch-siddhāntas summarising Sūrya, Vasiṣṭha, Paitāmah, Romaka and Pauliśa. The works are full of Greek notions and conceptions. The Romaka, by its very name appears foreign[217] and it refers to the city of Rome and adopts its own system of recknoning and not the Indian Yuga system. Romaka is obviously Rome.[218] Varāhmihira places Romaka[219] 90^0 West of Lankā. Further it makes calculation for a meridian of Yavanapura (Alexandria) city of Greeks.[220] It is quite likely that Romaka was composed by a Greek who settled in India and was familiar with Indian as well as Alexandrian astronomy.[221] Varāhamihira[222], often cites the author Yaveneśvara. The Pauliṣa Siddhānta was likewise influenced by the system of Paules of Alexandria (C 378 A.D.) who wrote the astronomical work Easiagoge.[223] In any case Varāhmihira acknowledges the superiority of Greek astronomy when he says[224] that the Greeks indeed are foreigners but with them this science is in a flourishing state. Gārgī Samhitā confirms this and declares that the Yavanas are barbarious yet the science of astronomy originated with them and for this they must be revered like ṛiṣhis.[225]

Moreover, there are some technical terms im Indian astronomy which have been borrowed from Greeks e.g. Greek pepton has become lipta in Sanskrit; dekanos drakna, trigonos, trikoṇa; Duton, Dyutom.[226]

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Astrology

The credit for developing astrology as an extension of astronomy must go to the Greeks which they learnt from Babylonians.[227] In India, astrology and specially horoscoping astrology gained immense popularity with the advent of the Greek influence.[228] Varāhamihir's Bṛahatjātaka and Laghujātaka are the earliest works of Indian astrology. He has used many astrological terms beginning with horā.[229] Other Sanskrit words Jyāmitra, libuka, apoklina, panaphara are Greek diametron, libuk, apoklina, epanaphona.[230] Sanskrit names of the planets are almost all taken from Greek names i.e. *Heli*, *Himna*, *Ara*, *Kona Jyan*, *Aspujit* have Greek counterparts in *Helios*, *Hermes*, *Ares Kronos*, *Zeus* and *Aphrodite*. The signs of the planets were first translated into Greek from Babylon and then were retranslated into Sanskrit—Kriya (Gr. Krios), Tavuri (Tauros), Jituma (Didumoi), Karkin (Karkinos), Leya (Leon), Pathena (Parthenos), Juka (Zugon), Kaurpya (Scorpios), Taukṣika (Toxotes); Akokera (Aigo Keros), Hrdoga (Hudrochoos), Ithusi (Jakhthus).[231]

Medicine

In the field of medicine also there appears to have been some exchange of ideas between the people of India and Greece. Both had their well-developed independent systems of medicine. Indian medicine is called Ayurveda and its prime object is preservation of human life, of animals and even of plants. In its doctrinaire approach Āyurveda leans heavily on the philosophies of Sānkhya, Yoga and Vaiśeṣka.[232] It contains developed knowledge of anatomy (even of inner organs), physiology, diseases of the children, surgery and toxicology as is evident from its eight sub-divisions[233] (aśtāṅgas). The two most important classical texts of Āyurveda are Suśruta Saṁhitā[234] and Charak Samhitā.[235] In the former, surgery enjoys a special position while in the latter importance is given to internal medicine.

According to the Āyurveda the whole universe as well as the human body is formed out of five gross elements—prithvī, ap, tejas, Vāyu and akāśa.[236] Related to this is the theory of tridoṣa or tridhātu

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which is central to the diagnosis as well as to the treatment of diseases in Ayurveda.[237] The orderly functions as well as the morbid and pathological states of the body are explained in terms of these principal factors—*vāta*, *pitta* and *kapha*.[238] They are *tridhātus* when they are in their normal state supporting the bodily functions.[239] They become tridoṣa[240] or the vitiating agencies if they are deranged and are thus in a state of imbalance. Though *rakta* or blood is not included as the fourth factor of fundamental significance, in later period its role was recognized in the maintenance of bodily functions.[241]

For the treatment of diseases the knowledge of rasas was also deemed essential which are six in number—madhura, āmla, lavaṇa, tikṭa, kaṭu and kāsāya[242] and the presence of which maintains the body.[243]

A pneumatic theory was also developed according to which the prime mover of life was breath (prāṇ) which was only a representation of the wind which moves the universe.[244] It was a common notion of the ancient world but nowhere else were its technical details so precisely listed and systematized.[245]

In India surgery was also well-advanced and Suṣrut Saiṁhitā describes[246] types of operations and about one hundred twentyone blunt and sharp instruments.[247] Suṣruta gives a clear account of cataract—chrouching, with which even the surgeons of ancient Greece and Egypt were not familiar.[248] Even with this advancement of operative surgery knowledge of human body remained primitive, as dissected anatomy was held in disrepute in ancient India.[249] The high watermark of Indian medicine were physiology and an extensive pharmacopoeia.[250]

Therefore, in 5th cent. B.C. when Hippocrates of Cos, was laying the foundation of Greek, medicine, knowledge of medicine in India was highly developed. The greatest achievement of Hippocrates and his followers was to consider disease as a natural evil, to be combated by natural means.[251] They disassociated medicine from superstition and magic, systematized the then available empirical knowledge and put it on a scientific and rational track.[252] Hippocrates

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was the first to have evolved a pneumatic theory in Greece and wrote a treatise on the winds.[253] In the 3rd cent. B.C. medicine in Greece made remarkable progress in Alexandrian School where Herophilus, the anatomist and Erasistratus of Ceos, the physiologist, worked.[254] The anatomical researches of Herophilus centred around the brain, nerves, lungs and the organs of generation.[255] Tradition asserts that he carried post mortem examinations and certainly his work could not have been possibly done without dissecting human bodies.[256] Erasistratus of Ceos, paid more attention to the traditional pneumatic theory and improved it.[257] Improved anatomy resulted in efficient surgery which was the great glory of Alexandrian School. The progress in medicine was carried on by Empiric school of medicine (C 208 B.C.). The notable among them were Philinus of Cos, (C 240 B.C.) and Heracleides of Torentum[258] (100 B.C.) who wrote an excellent work on materia medica. He was also a noted surgeon.

There are striking parallels[259] between Greek and ancient Indian systems of medicine. The Hippocratic treatise on breath, deals with its pneumatic system in much the same as we find in the Indian concept of *Vāyu* or *Prāṇa*.[260] According to both the wind pervades throughout the body in order to produce all movements and changes and it also represents the wind in nature. This theory though emphasized in the Hippocratic collection, is also found in Greek medical literature.[261] It is difficult to decide whether Greeks and Indians conceived independently the similar theories or the old Vedic concept of prāṇa had been borrowed by the Greeks.[262]

Again the Hindu theory of six qualities or flavours (rasas) is strikingly similar to the corresponding Greek concept of *gliky, liparon stryphnon pikron drimmy* and *halmyron*.[263] But whereas, in Hindu medicine these qualities form the basis of dietetics and pharmacology, the same is not true of Greek medicine.[264]

Another similarity is the general theory explained in Plato's '*Timaeus*' with the famous *tridoṣa* theory of classical Āyurveda. This conception of Plato, is without any indication of origin, and is an isolated idea in Greek tradition.[265] Health rests upon the correct

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association between these elements: *pneuma*, which represents the wind; *chole*, the gall which represents the fire and *phlegma* which is a form of water. They respectively correspond to *praṇa*, *pitta*, and *kapha* the tridoṣa of the Sanskrit tradition.[266] As these *doṣas* and especially the association between the gall and fire are already known in Vedic literature, tridoṣa theory could not have been borrowed in India from Plato but an influence of the Āyurvedic theories on those of Plato is quite probable.[267]

Another notable similarity is found in the Charaka Samhitā where he prescribes the rules for Indian doctors which are almost the same as those laid down by Hippocrates for Greek physicians to take upon entering their duties. This resemblance is not only in ideas but also in sentiments and expressions.[268] Again the description of the *corpus* and *tarsus* in Greek Osteology of Celsus in the 1st cent. B.C. agrees with description of Charaka.[269] Charaka might have learnt some of the western views in medicine when he went to attend the medical Conference at Bālkh in Bactria.[270]

From very early times Indians had an advanced knowledge of drugs and plants having medicinal properties and were esteemed for this by the Greeks[271] and the latter must have wished to acquire these. This is suggested by the fact that Chandragupta sent some Indian drugs as presents to Seleucus.[272] Pliny further adds[273] that the Seleucids had attempted to grow some Indian plants like *Amomum* and *Nardum*. Aśoka claims in his second rock edicts of Junāgaḍh Girnār and Kalsi[274] that he established medical treatment for men and animals and caused herbs to be planted in his own and neighbouring kingdom including that of Yavan king Antiyoka.

The Hippocratic collection mentions some Indian drugs and Indian formulas such as peperi (from Sanskrit Pippali) for the illness of women[275] which is also prescribed by Suśruta.

Some Indian elements are mentioned in the materia medica of Dioskorides[276] (1st cent A.D.) and of other earlier authors, as *pippali* (pepper), *Śṛngavera* (ginger), *kardama* (Cardamom), *guggula* (bdellium, a fragrant gum), *Sarkara* (sugar), *tila* (sesamum). The Roman Celsus (1st

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cent. A.D.) gave graphic account of the medical works of lithotomy which was practised in India much earlier. Galen (131-201 A.D.) of Peragmum, who spent most of his time in Rome, makes no secret of his borrowing from the Indian sources, material relating to the ointment used for diseases of eyes and the Indian plaster.[278]

The Greeks acknowledged the merits of the Indian physicians. Nearchus, as reported by Arrian[279] tells us that Alexander collected around him the Indians who were most skilled in the healing art and they were able to cure not only the snake bites, which Greek physicians were unable to do, but also many diseases and bodily pains. Megasthenes cited by Strabo[280] bears testimony to the skill of Indian physicians in curing various diseases. At the same time Indians also held Greek doctors in high esteem. They believed that the Greeks could cause a blind man to see which probably refers to cataract operation performed by Greek surgeons.[281]

It is clear from the above evidence that both Indians and Greeks had evolved an advanced system of medicine independently but in view of the long history of contacts a possibility of mutual influence and stimulation cannot be ruled out.

LITERATURE

Greek language & script

Next question for consideration relates to the influence of Greek literature on India. Before discussing it, it is necessary first to take up the position of Greek language and script in India during that period. The coins of the Indo-Greek kings in Greek and Kharoṣṭhī languages and the bilingual inscriptions of Aśoka at Kandahār amply prove that Greek language was widely current and understood at least in North-West India where the Greeks ruled, and it continued to be so up to the 2nd cent A.D.[282] or little later till it was swept away by the Hindu revival of Guptas with other traces of Greek Culture[283] Pāṇini knew the Greek script and Pātanjali (2nd cent B.C.) was also quite familiar with it.[284] It is quite probable that a few non-Greek kings also cultivated and conversed

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in Greek. According to Strabo[285] about 1st cent A.D. king Poros sent a letter to the Roman Emperor Augustus; through his ambassador; written in Greek on the parchment. Later on while Apollonius of Tyana (44 A.D.) visited Taxila its non-Greek king Phraates conversed with him in Greek.[286]

It is interesting that from the excavations at Bhir mound (dated 3rd cent B.C.) in Taxila, writing material found containing stylii of bone and ivory which is of Greek type.[287] The inkpots[288] found at Taxila are of copper, bronze and earthenware and appear to be of western design, while the copper pens[289] found in the Śaka-Pārthian city are described as the reproduction in metal of the reed pens of Greece.

Dio Chrysostom (C 117 A.D.) states that the memory of Homer lived not only among Greeks but also among the barbarians for his poems. It is said that these were sung by the Indians who translated[290] them in their own language. Plutarch (1st cent A.D.) also wrote that Alexander civilized Asia and Homer was read there.

Romances

Much has been written for and against the story of Rāmāyaṇa especially the abduction of Sītā and conquest of Lankā by Rāma.[291] It being influenced by the rape of Helen and the Trojan war, as proposed by some Western Scholars. But nothing can be said positively till the date of Epics can be fixed with certainty.

Moreover, the popularity of the Epics in Central and South East Asia has to be taken into account. It may be that few chief Greek Works were known and even appreciated by a small group of men of letters but they could not find their way in Indian literature so easily. It appears that Indians as well as Greeks were aware of the one another's romances and sometimes in the terms, in the descriptions, in the minute details and thoughts some resemblance between the two is found.[292] Again, most of the Greek romances were written by Greeks hailing from Asia Minor[293]

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and these stories may have been the common heritage of West Asia like the common motifs in the art.[294]

Fables

There are many obvious similarities and parallels between Greek and Indians fables and fairy stories but it is difficult to make a definite statement as to who borrowed from whom nor there is any certainty of the channels through which the contacts were made. The oldest book of Greek fables is Aesop's Fables, collected by Valarius Babrius, a Hellenised Roman in 3rd cent B.C. The bulk of these fables are about animals. He claims two sources for his collection, Aesop for Hellenic fables and Kybises for Libiyan fables which point to their non-Greek origin.[295] Demetrius of Phalerum (C 300 B.C.), the founder of the library of Alexandria is reputed to make an earlier collection which was the basis of Aesop's fables. Another collection is by Phaedrus (a Greek freedman of Augustus) who refers to his source not only to Aesop but also to Anacharsis, the Scythian (C 30 A.D.), a possible source of Indian influence.[296]

The earliest Indian fables on record are found in the Upaniṣhads, particularly the Chāndogya Upaniṣhad, Mahābhārata Jātakas and the famous collections known as *Panchatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*.[297] The oldest beast fables known in India occur in Chāndogya Upanishad in which animals are also introduced as actors and speakers.[298] Though Indian fables and tales date from remote past, they were written at a much later date than the Greeks. In the absence of the original texts it is impossible to determine the age of 'Panchatantra' with accuracy. The original version could have been composed anytime between 100 B.C. to 500 A.D.[299]

It is certain now that as far as the antiquity of the fable is concerned, India's position is unassailable[300] and the dispute is about the origin of beast fables which are credited to have been orginated in Greece. India is known to be the home of the conception of the incarnation and the transmigration of soul, therefore it is natural for

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the Indians to imagine animals acting as men.[301] Moreover the Panchatantra has a distinct purpose as against Aesop's fables. The former is Nītiśāstra and in the guise of writing fables it teaches the political ideas or ideas of Nīti as embodied in Arthaśāstra.[302] This practise is essentially Indian and points to an original development of the stories as against borrowings from Greece.[303]

While these above mentioned facts point the origin of fables in favour of India it would be hazardous to assume that all the Greek fables had been borrowed from India. Both the countries seem to have an independent tradition of fables[304] and when the two came in direct contact with each other, some migration of fables occured to and fro.[305] The actual transmission of these stories was through sailors, merchants, settlers, soldiers and slave girls.[306]

Drama

Indian drama has an age long tradition of development starting right from the Vedic period and by the time the Greeks came, Indian drama was highly developed, therefore the contention that circumstances in India were not favourable for the development of drama and the impetus came from Greek drama becomes meaningless.[307] The beginning of Indian drama can be traced in the dialogue hymn of Sarama and Paṇis, Yama and Yamī, Pururuva and Urvashī in the Ṛig Veda.[308] Pāṇini refers to acting[309] in the 5th Cent B.C. and by also the time of Pātanjali there is clear reference to actors and players.[310] Kalutilya[311] describes the theatrical companies. The early art of puppet plays, perhaps, a couple of centuries before the Christ gave an impetus to drama[312] Archaeological evidence can be taken as a supporting evidence. At Jogīmāra caves in Ramgarh hills in Bihar, an inscription dated in the 3rd cent B.C. speaks of poetry at the spring festival when there was music frolics.[313] At Sitābanī caves a sort of crude open air stage has been excavated in the rocks.[314]

Unfortunately not a single ancient drama has come down to us. The earliest available dramatic works are the plays of Bhāṣa (C 200-300

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B.C.) and the fragments of some Buddhist dramas of Aśvaghoṣa, the court poet of Kanisaka.

Besides these; there are some fundamental differences also in the make up of Indian and Greek drama. The Greek concept of tragedy and comedy which reaches its apex in Aristophanes is alien to the Indian drama.[315] In the Indian comedy humour to scattered over the entire piece of drama wherein the clown or Vidūṣaka, appears again and again and sustains the semblance of humour. The Sanskrit drama from the very beginning is multicoloured with a rich cast.[316] Here there is no chorus as in the Greek drama and unlike it the Indian drama has music and dance.[317] Greek drama is not divided into acts but is one unified piece while Sanskrit drama has definite divisions into many acts.[318] Sanskrit drama is long with many subsidiary acts entwined into the main plot.[319] So far as the evolution and development is concerned the Indian drama is an independent event.[320]

There are certain Greek words in Sanskrit drama which are said to bear Greek influence on Indian drama. One such is Yavanikā, the drop curtain, noticed in the Indian stage, although it is lacking in the Greek drama.[321] Many meanings have been afforded to explain it such as its Prākrit modification 'Yamanikā' meaning to bind or to fix, used for a curtain with ropes to fix it[322] but the word has got to be understood in the context of the words Yavana, Yona or such other term in which case Yavanikā can be explained only with the background of Greek association. May be that cloth used for it reached India via Persia from Ionia.[323] In this connection it can be mentioned that though curtain was not used in Greek plays,[324] it was certainly in vogue in Greek mime and the possibility remains that Yavanikā used in Indian plays was borrowed from the Greeks.[325]

It appears, however, that in past Indians had some opportunity to see Greek plays. A scene from Sophocles play 'Antigone' was depicted on the fragment of vase found near Peshawar.[326] It was Alexander who started the practice of bringing actors and musicians

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from Greece in the different parts of his empire. In Ecbatana alone there were three thousand actors imported from Greece.[327] Later Antiochus IV made Babylon, a real Greek city with the theatre and gymnasium.[328] It is only natural to expect that Greek kings, who ruled in India for about two centuries, would have naturally cultivated their art and develop their stage where they acted their plays. It is however possible that in the matter of stage performance[329] and arrangements (like curtain) some profitable elements might have been borrowed by the Indians from Greeks.

While the origin of drama in India cannot be traced to Greece, since the former has a long tradition going back to the Vedic period as already stated above, the fact remains that when the earliest extant Sanskrit dramas were being written it was the active period of Greek contact with India. This might have carried some influence and stimulated the Indian creative genius leading to improvements in technique and presentation.

Logic

There is also evidence to suggest that Indian logic was influenced by the Greek system. The definition of the most important logical terms and the explanation of various structures seem to have been derived from the analytical data of Aristotle. (384-322 B.C.).[330] The system of logic reached Akṣapāda, the Indian monk, who was residing near Broach in Kathiawar on the sea coast from Alexandria.[331]

Trade

Throughout this period, inspite of its political vissitudes, trade continued to develop and the merchant class grew in strength.[332] The Mauryan Empire had opened up the country by building roads and attempting to develop an uniform system of administration. The Indo-Greek kings encouraged contacts with Western Asia and the Mediterranean world. Trade between India and the Hellenistic world increased considerably and was regarded as enormously important to Seleucia. The outburst of prosperity in that city between the years 175

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and 150 B.C. and the heavy increases in the output of its mint, more or less coincided with the period of Indo Greek rule in India from Demetrius to Menander.[334] Enormous quantities of ivory and spices from India were exhibited by Antiochus IV in his triumphal-march at Daphne in 166 B.C.[335] The Indo-Greek trade was so brisk, that Parthia too, through which the overland trade passed, increased its wealth enormously.

Conclusion

The chain of outward stimulus, to the Indian Civilization, which started with the Persian invasion was carried forward by the Greek contacts both peaceful and through conquests. The year 326 B.C. when Alexander, landed in Attock, was not the starting point of Greek contact with India. The process had begun centuries earlier, when both the countries formed part of the Persian Empire, when both had frequented the western Asia, as traders, when Greeks were carried as deportees, as far eastward as Sogd, on the very boundry of India, and when Indian contingents fought with Persian in Boetian campaign, at Arabela and Gaugamela. With the invasion of Alexander, this contact between the two mighty civilizations of the time, India and Greece, received a major thrust. Alexander, from the very beginning, pursued the policy of Hellenization of the defeated states, on a grand scale. After over throwing Persian Empire, Alexander celebrated a festival of reconciliation and promoted and rewarded Graeco Iranian and other Graeco Asiatic marriages. He also founded a chain of Greek cities, which were the portable containers of Hellenism, on the alien soil. The most famous among these, was Alexandria on Nile. In India too, Alexander tried to maintain the same policy of Hellenization, which could not make much impact because of his sudden end. But by depriving the various states in the Indus basin of their independence, Alexander, opened the way for an empire builder in C 323 B.C. The result was the first empire of India, founded by Chandragupta Maurya, expanded and maintained by Bindusāra and Aśoka. These Mauryan kings, not only weilded

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the largely diverse elements of the subcontinent into an empire, but also provided an expression to an imperial vision which was to dominate the coming centuries of Indian political life. The first three Mauryan kings maintained very close and friendly connection with the Greek kings of Western Asia, exchanging embassies with them and sending religious missionaries to their countries. Throughout this entire period, the Hellenic influence had been slowly seeping through western Asia to India. With the establishment of the Indo-Greek rule in North West the Hellenic intrusion received a powerful thurst in India. These Greek princes ruled for about two hundred years. They founded new cities, brought their language, literature, art and social traditions with them. During this period the dissemination of Hellenic civilization and ideas was at its highest, the impact of which was felt in almost every sphere of Indian Civilization, making it richer and stronger. Confronted with this challange India responded by absorbing and assimilating these influences and making them their own. The result of this fusion was Gandhāra Art, scientific development of Indian astronomy and astrology and an inspiration to Mahāyāna Buddhism, which influenced the whole of mankind, in the time to come. The Greeks too accepted the Indian religion, social customs and their way of life, becoming one with the vast population of India.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Herodotus* VII, 65.
2. *Arrian, Anab* III, 8, 3, 6.
3. *Herodotus* VI, 19.
4. *Jairazbhoy R.A, Foreign Influence in Ancient India* p. 81.
5. *Arrian Indica* I.
6. *McCrindle—Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* p. 1.
7. *Mookerji R.K. Indian Shipping* p. 88; Pusalkar A.D. "Cultural Intercourse between India and the outside world," Cultural Heritage of India Vol. I, p. 152.
8. In the fragments of the lost work of Hekataeus (C 476 BC) "The Periegesis" eight Indian Names are mentioned, the Indus, the Indi, the city of Kaspapyrus,

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the country of Gandaril, the Opiae and the Kalliate (the Kalliantial of Herodotus unidentified), the Skiapodes and Agrante. Most of the places have not been identified.

9. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World* p. 19.
10. Rawlinson G., *The History of Herodotus*, Vol. I & II.
11. Pāṇini 4.1.49. Pāṇani mentions the feminine form of Yavana as Yavananī and according to Kātyāyana, (Vartika) this denotes the script of Yavanas, "*Yavana lippyam.*" Agrawala V.S., *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 466.
12. Pāṇini, Gaṇapātha 178, 21, 72. "Yavana muṇḍa, Kamboja muṇḍa".
13. Kiskindhā Kāṇḍa, 43, 12-14; Bālakāṇḍa 54, 24, 55-3.
14. Sabhāparva 28, 44.
15. *Ibid.*, 28, 49
16. *Ibid.*, 24, 49.
17. Budha Prakash, *India and the World*, p. 33.
18. *Sabhaparva*, 28, 49.
19. Budha Prakash, *India and the World*, p. 33.
20. Rai Chaudhri, *Political History of India* (*4th ed*), p. 3.
21. *Mahābhārata* VIII, 45, 36.
22. *Rock Edict V*; *Hultzsch CII*, Vol. I, p. XXXIX.
23. *Ibid.*, Tarn W.W., *Greeks in Bactria and India.* p. 3.
24. Law B.C., *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 153-155; Narain A.K., *Indo Greeks*, p. 3 Singhal D.P., *India and the World Civilization*, 418, Chunnilal Chakraborti "Some Foreign settlements in Uttrapath", "Foreigners in Anc. India", Seminar 1959 Calcutta.
25. II 149—Yona Kambojesu...dveva Vaṇṇa ayyo c'evā dāsoca.
26. Rawlinson, *Intercourse Between India and Western World*, p. 17, 18.
27. Nyasa—Bhandakar places it between Kabul and Indus. (*Lectures on Ancient History of India from* 650 - 325 *B.C.* (1977) p. 159.) In the Greek legend the name Nyasa is closely connected with Dionysius. It was either the name of his nurse or the place where he was born or of his holy hill and the name of this little town in Hindukush, as it was pronounced to Alexander had a similar sound. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 354.
28. B.C. Law, *Tribes of Ancient India.*
29. *Cambridge History of India*, pp. 354-355 Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient History of India 650 to 325* B.C. (1977), p. 159.
30. Alexander fell ill at Babylon; heavy drinking aggravated his illness and resulted in his death.
    It has been suggested that Alexander was poisoned but that fact cannot be proved.
31. Alexander founded mixed about seventy new cities with the aim of creating a mixed Greek and Asian Empire; of which Alexandria was the greatest and

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became the centre of Hellenistic culture, learning and commerce. In India his chief known cities were *Alexandria under the Caucasus* (at the foot of Hindukush) *Nycia and Bucephela.*

32. Callesthenes was Alexander's press agent and very much devoted to him. But his refusal to accept Alexander's new found theory of Divine origin annoyed him so Alexander tortured and executed him in the end.
33. It is reported that Dandamis rebuked Kalanos for having agreed to accompany Alexander and disowned him. However Kalanos went with Alexander and was held in high esteem by him, and taught one of his generals Lysimachus, who later became king of Macedonia. Kalanos fell ill at Susa, entered the fire and burnt himself to death in the presence of army amid trumpets and royal salutes. Before his end, it is said, he had already foretold Alexander's death in Babylon.
34. There was a prolonged and fierce struggle for power among the generals and finally Alexander's empire was divided into many parts of which the three were most important : Macedonia was ruled by Antigonas, Egypt by Ptolemy Lagus and his dynasty with his capital at Alexandria and the largest and richest, Syria came under Seleucus Nikator with the capital at Antioch. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 198.
35. *13th Rock Edict at Kalsi*, Bhandarkar, Asoka (3rd ed. 1955). p. 290; *Hultzsch CII*, Vol. I, p. 66; *Sircar Select Inscription*, pp. 12-13.
36. Toynbee, *Mankind and Mother Earth*, p. 204; Singhal D.P. *India and the World Civilization*, p. 51-52.
37. Toynbee, *op. cited.* p. 204.
38. Toynbee, *op. cited.*
39. Toynbee has described these cities as the "portable social containers of Hellenism." *Mankind and Mother Earth*, p. 206; Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 6-12.
40. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 251; Banerjee G.N., *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 314; Toynbee. *op cited*, p. 208.
41. Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, p. 431.
42. With these elephants Seleucus was able to overthrow Antigonas at Ipsua in 301 B.C. Antigonas himself had seventyfive elephants at Ipsus. With these elephants Indian mahaouts also must have gone. Indian mahaouts were in charge of elephants in Carthagian armies of first (264-241 B.C.) and second (218-201 B.C.) Punic Wars of Rome.
43. *Strabo XV—724.* This has generally been taken to mean that Chandragupta married a daughter of Seleucus but this is not established by known facts.
44. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 3.
45. Athenaeus gives the story of the friendly correspondence between the two kings. Bindusara asked Antiochus I to buy and send him sweet wine, dried

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figs and a sophist. Antiochus sent him wine and figs but refused the last request on the ground that the law of the country forbade the sale or trade of philosophers. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and Western World*, p. 39.

46. Athenaeus, 1.32, Deiprosophists 18d—quoted by McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 405.
47. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 193; These kings were Antiochus II Theos of Syria (260-246 B.C.); Ptolemy II Philadalphus of Egypt (285-247 B.C.), Magas, king of Cyrene (300-250 B.C.) Antigonas Gontas of Macadonia (278-239 B.C.) and Alexander Epirus (272-258 B.C.) *Hultzsch CII*, Vol. I, p. 66; Sircar, *Select Inscription*, p. 12-13.
48. Saletore, *India's Diplomatic Relations with the West*, p. 161.
49. Saletore, *India's Diplomatic Relations with the West*, p. 160; Unvala "Political and Cultural Relations between India and Iran," ABORĪ, Vol. 28, 1947, p. 175.
50. Saletore, *op. cited.*, p. 161.
51. *Mahāvaniśa XII. I-8*; Chandragupta Vidyalankar, *Brahttar Bharat*, p. 11.
52. Smith, "Persian Influence on Mauryan India", Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXIV 1905, p. 306.
53. *Strabo IV*: Chandragupta Vidyalankar, above cited, p. 11.
54. Singhal, *India the World Civilization*, p. 52. A.K. Narain, *Indo Greeks*, p. 4.
55. *Strabo, XV, 151.* McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 87. Smith felt that Indians borrowed this concept from the Greeks "Asoka: Notes" (Ind. Antiquary, Vol XXXIV 1905 p. 200-1).
56. Arthaśāstra, 2.34.
57. Asthana, *History and Arch of India's Contacts with other countries, from Earliest times to 300 B.C.*, p. 188.
58. *Cambridge History of India* p. 512; Thomas identifies him with the grandson of Aśoka, and son of Vīrasena, who is referred to by Tarānāth as a son of Aśoka, also Jairazbhoy, *Foreign Influence in Ancient India*, p. 64.
59. *Stoph Byzant cited. by A. Cunnigham, Coins of Ancient India*, 1891, p. 6.
60. *Polybius* XI, 39.
61. Saletore—*India's Diplomatic Relations with West*, p. 168.
62. Polybius XXX 25.12.
63. Kennedy, "The Indians in Armenia, 130 BC—300 A.D." J.R.A.S. 1904, p. 309; *History and Culture of the Indian people*—Vol. II p. 633.
64. Supra, pp. 11-12.
65. The echo of this Yavana invasion can be heard in Indian literature also. It is mentioned in the Yuga Purana section of Gārgī Samhitā—"*Tatah Sāketam ākramya, Pānchalan Mathurāh tathā, Yavanāh dustvikrāntah prāpsyanti Kusumdhyajam.*" Jayaswal K.P., "The Historical data of Gargi Samhita," J.B.O.R.S., Vol XIV, 1928, p. 401, 2; 22-23; Pātanjali *Mahabhasya, 3, 2; 111.* "*Arunad Yavanah Saketam, Arunad Yavano Madhyamikām*; Sharma, G.R.,

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'Reh Inscription of Menander and the Indo Greek Invasion of the Ganga Valley", p. 11.

66. *Strabo XV* 686, XI 516.
67. Tarn maintains, and many other historians agree with him that Demetrius I, son of Euthydemus, was the first Graeco. Bactrian King to have conquered India and struck bilingual coins. W.W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 129-182; A.K. Narain disagrees with this theory and claims that the first such king was not Demetrius I son of Euthydemus, but Demetrius II, who advanced upto Gandhāra or beyond. He belonged to the house of Euthydemus, but was not his son I. He was related to king Antimachus. His conclusions are mainly based on numismatic evidence. According to him, Demetrius I ruled over an extensive empire of Bactria, Sogdiana and perhaps extended it upto Fergana but did not enter India. The first bilingual coins found in India belonged to Demetrius II. *Indo-Greeks*, pp. 27-30; G.R. Sharma-above cited, p. 71. He agrees with Tarn, that Demetrius I of Graeco Bactrian Kings invaded India, p. 71.
68. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India*, p. 117.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India*, p. 117.
71. *Ibid.*
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73. *Ibid.* Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 39.
74. Bachhoffer Ludwig, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. I, p. 66, Smith V.A., *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, p. 99; Saraswati A.K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 70. Toynbee, *A Study of History (Illustrated)*, p. 394; Rosenfield, *Dynastic Art of Kushanas*, p. 201.
75. Benjamin Rowland, *The Art & Architecture of India*, p. 75.
76. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 57; Rawland *op. cited.* p. 75; R.C. Sharma "The Alien feature experienced by the Mathura School of Sculpture—the case study of the Early Buddhist Icons", p. 78 & p. 84. Paper read in International Seminar on "Influences and Interactions in Anc. Indian Art", 1982.
77. Marshall, *A guide to Sānchi*, p. 75. According to Marshal Gandhāra example is noticed in the railing of Bharhut & Sānchi.
78. H.G. Rawlinson, *India*, p. 101. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, 54-55; Rowland, Benjamin (Jr), "Art along the silk roads: A reappraisal of Central Asian Art", H.J.A.S. 1964-65, Vol. 25, p. 245.
79. Bachhoffer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. I, p. 73; Saraswati A.K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 72.
80. Bachhoffer, *op. cited.*, Saraswati *op. cited.* Banerjee G.N. *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 61.

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81. Coomarswami, *History of Indian & Indonesian Art*, p. 52. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 72.
82. L. Bachhoffer, "On Greeks and Sakas in India." JAOS Vol. 16, December 1941, pp. 224-226.
Benjamin Rowland, *The Art & Architecture of India*, p. 79; Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, p. 54.
83. L. Bachhoffer above cited. 53.
84. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian, Sculpture*, p. 72: Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, p. 64.
85. W.W. Tarn. *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 404-7; Rawlinson H.G., *India*, p. 202; Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 80; Toynbee, *Mankind and Mother Earth*, p. 287.
86. Coomarswami A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 52; Dani A.H., "Shaikhan Dheri Excavation, 1963-64 Seasons, (In search of Second city of Pushkalāvati); Ancient Pakistan, Vol II 1965-66, pp. 17-214.
Others ascribe the creation of the Buddha image to influences from Roman empire. Buchthal, for example, sees in the Buddha figure a copy of the Roman toga clad statue, perhaps even of Augustus ("The Western Aspect of Gandhara Sculpture," Proceedings of the British Academy, XXXI, 1945, p. 10) whereas, Soper rather stresses the influence from Roman Workshops of the Hadrianic period (American Journal of Archaelogy, 1951, p. 306).
87. Bachhoffer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. I p. 66; Smith V.A., *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, p. 99; Saraswati A.K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture.* p. 72.
88. Coomarswami, *History* of *Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 52.
89. H. Zimmer, *Art of India and Asia*, Vol. I, p. 52.
90. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, pp. 47-55.
91. Rapson, *Indian, Coins*, p. 4; Lahiri A.N., "The influence of the coins of foreign Rulers on Indigenous issues," Seminar. *Foreigners in Ancient India*, Calcutta, pp. 36-37.
92. Lahiri A.N., "Influence of coins of Foreign Rulers on Indigenous Issues", p. 37; Bannerjee J.N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 111.
93. Lahiri, A.N., *op. cited.*, Ghosh Nirmal, "The Impact of Indian Traditions on the Coins of Alien Rulers", ICWTC, p. 133.
94. Lahiri, *op. cited.*, p. 38.
95. Allan J., *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. XV and XXXV; A. Cunnigham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 64.
96. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 3-4.
97. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India*, p. 117.
98. *Henery Maine Rede Lectures for 1875 quoted in Discovery of India.* Nehru,

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p. 116.

99. Jairazbhoy, *Oriental Influence in Western Art*, p. 2.
100. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IV, 1926, p. 539. Aristotle attributed the foundation of mathematics to the leisured Egyptain priests. Thales learned in Egypt some rules of land measurement which were to develop in Greece into the science of geometry. He also learnt from Babylon the cycle of lunation which enabled him to predict an eclipse of the sun. Herodotus (II 109) contends that Greeks learnt from Babylon the twelve parts of the day, use of sun clock and dial. Aristotle commissioned his pupil Callasthenes to investigate Chaldean astronomy in 331 B.C. The influence of Medes on Greeks is definitely attested. Jairzabhoy, *Oriental Influence in Western Art*, pp. 8 & 9.
101. Toynbee, *Mankind and Mother Earth*, p. 206.
Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. IV, p. 539.
102. Mitra S.K., *India's Cultural Empire and her Future*, p. 14. Bannerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 332.
103. He was a merchant about whom little is known. He predicted the correct time of the solar eclipse which occurred in 585 B.C., the first fixed date in Greek philosophy and generally regarded as its starting point. Thales gave the word "Cosmos" to universe which is an untranslatable word combining the notion of order, fitness and beauty. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol IV, p. 539.
104. *Rig Veda*. X—129.
This similarity between Greek and Indian thought was first pointed out by G. Richard Garbe, *Philosophy of Ancient India*, pp. 32-56.
105. *Ibid.*
Mitra, *India's Cultural Empire and her Future*, p. 13;
B.M. Pande, "Indian Religions and the West's I.C.W.T.C." p. 16.
106. Mitra, *op. cited.*, p. 13.
107. S.K. Mitra, *op. cited.*
108. Mitra, *India's Cultural Empire and her Future*, p. 13. Richard Garbe, *Philosophy of Ancient India*, pp. 32-56; S. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religion and Western Thought*, p. 134.
109. S.K. Mitra, *op. cited.*, p. 13.
110. Pythagoras was a resident of Samos who migrated in Croton in South Italy in C 530 B.C. There is not much information about him but he stands in the history of thought as one of the world's greatest man. He was the founder of the society of arithmetic and harmonies and was the author of the discovery of geometry. His influence grew to such an extent that it incurred the warth of tyrant Cylon, and Pythagoras is said to have been executed. After his death many of his followers were burnt at the stakes, in mass execution. He gave to the world, the world philosophy (the love of wisdom) by which name he called his own pursuit of knowledge rather than Sophia (wisdom).

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111. *Cambridge Ancient History*, 1926, Vol. IV 535.
112. S. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religion and Western Thought*, p. 142.
113. There is a legend told by Xenophanes in his verse that once Pythagoras heard a dog howling and appealed to his master not to beat him as he recognised the voice of a departed friend. It is also said that Pythagoras was gifted with the power of remembering his former birth. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religion and Western Thought*, p. 140.
114. S.K. Mitra, *India's Cultural Empire and her Future*, p. 13, Radhakrishnan, *op. cited.*, p. 140.
115. Sir Willam Jones was the first to point out the similarities between the Sankhyan system and the Pythagorean philosophy, Later other scholars like Garbe (*Philosophy of Ancient India*) Colebrooke (*Miscellaneous Essays 2nd Edition I*, p. 436), Winternitz (*Visvabharti*, Quarterly Feb. 1937, p. 8). *H.G.* Rawlinson (*Legacy of India 1957*) Schroeder (*Pythagoras and die-Inder*) Macdonald (*History of Sanskrit literature*, p. 442) also testified to the Indian inspiration of Pythagoras. Prof. A. B. Keith is against this view in his "Pythagoras and his Doctrine of Transmigration" J.R.A.S. 1909.
116. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, p. 28.
117. Cited in Radhakrishnan's *Eastern Religion and Western Thought*, p. 142.
118. *Herodotus II*, 123.
119. Pande B.M., "Indian Religion and the West Historical Perspective", ICWTC, p. 616; Dodds E.R. Greeks and the Irrational cited in Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, p. 27.
120. There is a Hindu tradition that Pythagoras was a Hindu of the Sanskrit name 'Prithvi Guru' who went to Greece to preach Hindu Philosophy. Mitra S.K., *India's Cultural Empire and her Future*, p. 14.
121. From 600 to 480 B.C., within a span of not more than one hundred and twenty years five seers made their appearance in the world. They were Zorathustra in Iran 'Deutro Isiah' in Judaea, Buddha in India, Confucius in China and Pythagoras in Greece. These 6th cent B.C. seers are today still influencing mankind either directly or indirectly. Toynbee, *Mankind and Mother Earth*, p. 177. On the strength of the contemporaniety of these five seers, the period of their life time has been called by Karl Jaspers the 'Axis Age' i.e. an age that is the hinge on which human history has turned.
122. Mitra, *India's Cultural Empire and her future*, p. 14, Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religion and Western Thought*, p. 143.
123. Mitra, *op. cited.*, p. 14.
124. Will Durant, *Our Oriental Heritage*, p. 455.
125. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, pp. 17-18.
126. Singhal D.P., *India and the World Civilization*, p. 29.
127. *Brihadāraṇyaka Upahishad* I 3.28. The author invokes the God to lead him

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from unreal to real, from darkness to light and from death to immortality. D.P. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, p. 32; S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, p. 147.

128. Mitra, *op. cited.*, 15; Rawlinson, *India*, p. 56, Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religion and Western Thought*, p. 146.
129. Toynbee, *Mankind and Mother Earth*, p. 207; Bertrand Russel, *Wisdom of the West*, p. 145.
130. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religion and Western Though*, p. 145, B.M. Pande, "Indian Religion and the West" I.C.W.T., p. 616; H.G. Rawlinson, *India* p. 56.
131. E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and Irrational*, p. 139 cited in D.P. Singhal's *India and the World Civilization*.
132. S. Radhakrishnan, *op. cited.*, p. 149.
133. Mitra, *India's Cultural Empire and Her Future*, p. 15. According to Hopkins (Indian Religion) Plato derived the Sankhyan thoughts from Pythagoras. His simile of the charioteer and the horses is exactly similar to that of Katha Upanishad "of the body with the car, the soul with the charioteer, the senses with the horses, and the mind with the reins".
134. Urwick, *The Message of Plato*, p. 29, Rawlinson, *India*, p. 36; Mitra *op. cited.*
135. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religion and Western Thought*, p. 147.
136. S. Radhakrishnan, *op. cited.*, p. 149. Indian Influence on Plato has been acknowledged by most of the scholars like Hopkins, Colebrooke, Enfield and William Jones. William Jones has pointed out that "it is impossible to read Vedants or the many fine compositions in illustration of it without believing the Pythagoras and Plato derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the Indian sages," S. Mitra, *India's Cultural Empire and Her Future*, p. 15.
137. Gymnosophist an ancient Hindu philosopher who wore little or no clothing at all and led a solitary life in mystical contemplation. Greek—Gymnos=naked Sophos=wise, hence Gymnosophist.
138. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 336.
139. Zeno was a phoenecian Cypriot. Commercial activities of his family took the; young man to Athens and there he developed an interest in philosophy. He abandoned trade, and evenfually set up a school of his own. In the beginning, his followers were called Zenoians but later on they came to be known as stoics because he used to discourage promenading in the 'Stoa Poikile" which means a covered hallway painted in many colours. Bertrand Russels. *Wisdom of the West*, p. 147.
140. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, pp. 65 & 66.
141. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

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142. John Bowle, *A New Outline of History*, p. 99 cited in Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, p. 69.
143. S. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religion and Western Thought*, pp. 198-200; R.C. Majumdar, (ed) *History & Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II. G.N. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 339.
144. B.A. Litvinsky, "India and Sov et Central Asia" I.C.W.J.C., pp. 263-270.
145. D.P. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, p. 117.
146. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
147. S.K. Mitra, *India's Cultural Empire and Her Future*, p. 17.
148. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, (6th impression), Vol. V, p. 140. Bardesnes learned much about India from an Indian embassy to Syria (218-222). He describes in detail the life in a Buddhist monastery, a visit to a Cave temple in India and the discipline and the mode of life of the Brahmans and Buddhists.
149. Now it is a generally accepted fact that the teachings of Mani are substantially the same as that of Gnostics. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, p. 121.

    Mani, before beginning his Gnostic mission had been the slave and later on the sole heir to a wealthy widow, who had herself inherited all the belongings of a certain Terbinthus, surnamed in Assyrian, Buddha Terbinthus, who in his turn, had been a servant of a wealthy merchant Scythicus, who had a knowledge of Indian religions through his frequent trade trips to India. Later on he began to preach the new doctrines and there can be little doubt that there were not original but had been learned in India. His tradition was carried on by his slave and his sole disciple Terbinthus and finally mainfested itself in the mission of Mani. B.M. Pande, "*Indian Religion and the West*: Historical Perspective." p. 615; D.P. Singhal, *Indian and the Wold Civilization*, p. 120.
150. H.G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between Indian and the Western World*; R.C. Majumdar (ed), *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, *Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 632-633.
151. G.N. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 340.
152. C.R. Majumdar (ed), *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, pp. 632-633; Singhal, *op. cited.*, p. 121.
153. S. Radhakrishnan,*Eastern Religion and Western Thought*, pp. 207-211.
154. Among his predecessors are counted Ammonius of Saccas, who had his contacts with missionaries of distant countries including India; Posi-donius the Stoic teacher of Cicero; and Numenius whose influence on Plotinus was considerable.

    Plotinus a native of Egypt was so anxious to be instructed in Indian philosophy that he accompanied the expedition of Gordian against Soper, King of

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Persia in A.D. 242, with this object. But Gordian's death in Mesopotamia, made him turn half way.

155. Mitra S.K., *India's Cultural Empire and Her Future*, p. 18.
156. B.M. Pande, "Indian Religion and the West : Historical Perspective", p. 618, Radhakrishnan *op. cited.*, pp. 268-211; S.K. Mitra, *op. cit.*, 18.
157. D.P. Singhal, *op. cit.*, 125.
158. Pande, "Indian Religion and the West : Historical Perspective", ICWTC, p. 618.
159. R. C. Majumdar (ed), *History & Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, p. 634; Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religion and Western Thought*, pp. 150 and 158.
160. Majumdar, *ibid*; Radhakrishnan, *ibid*; S.K. Mitra, *India's Cultural Empire and Her Future*, pp. 21 & 22.
161. Over the door of the Academy of Plato was inscribed in Greek "A credit in Mathematics is required."
162. One of the sayings of Plato was "God is always doing Geometry." On being asked by Plotemy II of Egypt to symplify his problems Euclid replied, "There is no Royal Road to Geometry."
163. B.V. Subbarayappa, "India's Contribution to the History of Science" I.C.W.-T.C., p. 49.
164. Hogben "*Mathematics for Millions*" Quoted in *Discovery of India* by Jawaharlal Nehru p. 175.
165. D.P. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, pp. 167.
166. A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 496.
167. Hindu's call it Śūnya and it was passed on to Arabs *as as-sefr or sefr*. It later became *Zephirum tzipher Zeuro, Ceuro and Zero* is its present form. The English *cipher* and French *chiffre* are directly derived from the arabic original *al sifr*.
168. D.P. Singhal, *India and the World Cīvilization*, p. 168.
169. *ibid.*
170. Hobgen, *Mathematics for Millions*, quoted in *Discovery of India*, Jawaharlal Nehru p. 175.
171. B.V. Subbarayappa, "India's contributions to the History of Science", I.C.W.-T.C., p. 49.
172. *Ibid.*
173. *Ibid.*
174. *Ibid.*
175. D.P. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, 169.
176. The Indian decimal and the concept of zero passed on to Europe through Arab Scholarship when Al-Fazari translated Brahmagupta's Siddhānta in 771 A.D. under the title '*Sindhind*.' The treatise was taken to Bagdad by an

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Indian astronomer who had gone there on some political mission from Sind to the Court of Caliph Al Mansur. It is asserted that at the same time the king of Kabul offered as present to Caliph Al Mansur of Bagdad a beautifully bound copy of Arithmetic. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India*, p. 177; D.P. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, 147.

Another such eminent Arab scholar was Mohammad, son of Moses from Khwarism, or Mohammad-ibn-Musa al Kwarizmi (C 840 A.D.) who laid the foundation of Arab astronomy and higher mathematics and whom the world is indebted for its present knowledge of arithmetic and algebra. He distinctly states that numbers were due to Hindus. (B.V. Subbarayappa "India's Contribution to the History of Sciences: I.C.W.T.C., pp. 49 & 50).

177. G.N. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 205.
178. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*.
179. Will Duran, *Our Oriental Heritage*; Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, 208.
180. Banerjee, *op. cited*.
181. B.K. Sarkar, *Hindu Achievement in Exact Sciences*, p. 12.
182. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 208 & 9.
183. *Ibid*.
184. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 290.
185. *Ibid*.
186. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 210.
187. Tradition credits Thales to be first man to have calculated the height of a pyramid and the distance of a ship from the shore.
188. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 291.
189. Democritus was the forerunner of the modern Atomic theory and was the first to discover that the volume of a cone or a pyramid is $\frac{1}{3}$ of the cylinder or prism respectively which has the same base and height. Luigi Pareti, *History of Mankind—Cultural Scientific Development*, Vol. II, p. 413.
190. Elements passed on to Arabia in the 8th cent A.D. the other works are lost Luigi Pareti – *ibid*.
191. Luigi Pareti, *History of Mankind*, Vol. II, p. 414.
192. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, pp. 301-302. We are told that Cleanthes, the Stoic, said that Aristarchus ought to be prosecuted for placing the Hearth of the Universe in motion.
193. *Ibid*.
194. Luigi Pareti, *History of Mankind*, Vol. II, p. 414.
195. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, pp. 303 & 4. Well known stories about him tell how he declared "Give me a place to stand and I will move the earth." Archimedes was killed at the sack of Syracuse in 212 B.C. by a Roman soldier who found him busy on a diagram drawn on the ground and was incensed when disturbed Archimedes shouted at him. "Stand away,

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fellow, from my diagram."

196. *Ibid.*
197. Luigi Pareti, *op. cit.*, p. 414.
198. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, pp. 310-11. He also constructed a globe showing positions of the fixed star and made great improvement in the instruments used for observation. "He left heavens as a sort of heritage for all and sundry," says Pliny.
199. Luigi Pareti, *History of Mankind*, Vol. II, p. 413.
200. *Ibid*; B.V. Subbarayappa, "India's Contribution to the History of Science", I.C.W.T.C., p. 50. Banerjee: *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 212.
201. D.P. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, 172.
202. *Ibid.*, pp. 172 & 173.
203. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, II p. 447; Fillioz-at (Rene Taton); *Ancient and Medieval Science*, p. 139. B.V. Subbarayappa, "India's Contribution to the History of Science", I.C.W.T.C., p. 51.
204. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, p. 164.
205. *Ibid.*
206. *Ibid*; B.V. Subbarayappa, *op. cited.* p. 51 & 52; Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India* p. 183.
207. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastras*, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 495-512. Filliozat (ed Metraux and Grouzat) *The Evolution of Science*, p. 92.
208. P.V. Kane, *op. cited*; B.V. Subbarayappa *op. cited.*, pp. 51 & 52; Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 194; Filliozat (ed Metruax and Crouzet), *The Evolution of Science*, p. 92.
209. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, p. 162. B.V. Subbarayappa, "India's Contribution to the History of Science", ICWTC, p. 50.
210. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 184.
211. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
212. *Ibid.*, The work credited to Parāśara is "*Parāśara* Tantra" from which Varāhmhira often quotes. There is no definite view about their dates though Prof. Waber has placed Garga in 3rd and Parāśara in 2nd cent B.C. respectively.
213. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, pp. 187 & 192; Jairazbhoy, *Foreign Influence in Anc. India*; Upadhyaya, *Feeders of Indian Culture*, p. 57.
214. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 291, 301 & 302, 310 & 311; Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, pp. 187 & 88; Tarn—*Hellenistic Civilization*, pp. 246-47.
215. Tarn W.W., *op. cited.*, p. 240.
216. W.W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*, pp. 246-47; Will Durant; *Our Oriental Heritage*, pp. 527-599.
217. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, p. 164; Jāirazbhoy, *Foreign influence in Ancient India*, p. 72.

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218. Jairazbhoy, *op. cit.*, p. 72. Singhal, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
219. Jairazbhoy, *op. cited.*, p. 72.
220. Upadhyay, *Feeders of Indian Culture*, pp. 53 & 54.
221. Singhal, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
222. Banerjee G.N., *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 191.
223. Colebrook C.T., *Miscellaneous Essays*, 1837 II, p. 530.
224. Brihat Saṁhitā II, 15.
225. "Mlecchāhi Yavanāstesu.
Śamyak Sāstramidam sthitam.
Rsivattepi pujyante kimpunar daivaiddvijan" Jayaswal "Historical data of Gārgī Samhitā" JBORS 1928.
226. Jairazbhoy, *Foreign Influence in Ancient India*, p. 74.
227. Chaldeans were the first to draw the horoscope of man at the time of birth and reveal the future destiny of every man alive. From the time of Alexander, the Greeks came in closer contact with Babylon. In the 3rd cent B.C. a group of Babylonian scholars, notable among them being Sudines, translated their astronomincal and astrological works into Greek. Furthermore Chaldeans propagated their theories wandering from city to city, W.W. Tarn *Hellenistic Civilization* p. 241, Luigi Pareti; *History of Mankind*, Vol. II, p. 410 & 11.
228. Jairazbhoy, *Foreign Influence in Ancient India*, pp. 73 and 74; Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, p. 165.
229. Jairazbhoy, *ibid*, Singhal, *ibid.*
230. Jairazbhoy, *op. cited.*, p. 74.
231. Jairazbhoy, *Foreign Influence in Ancient India*, p. 73.
232. B.V. Subbarayappa, "India's contribution to the History of Science", I.C.W.-T.C., p. 54.
233. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, 176; Suśruta Samhita, Satra 1.6.
234. The date of this work is controversial. Suśruta has been ascribed dates beginning from 6th cent B.C. (Hoernle, "Studies in Ancient Medicine" J.R.A.S. 1909, p. 997) to 1st cent B.C. (Filliozat, *The Classical Doctrine of Indian Medicine*, pp. 11-25).
235. Charaka said to have belonged to 1st and 2nd cent A.D. (Filliozat. *The Classical Doctrine of Medicine*, pp. 11-75). According to the Chinese sources, Charaka was the court physician of Kanishka. (Jairazbhoy. *Foreign Influence in Ancient India*, p. 78).
236. Charaka Samhitā, Sutrā 26-10.
237. Subbarayappa, "India's Contribution to the History of Science", I.C.W.T.C., p. 55.
238. Subbarayappa, "India's Contribution to the History of Science", ICWTC, p. 55.
239. *Ibid.*

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240. *Ibid.*
241. *Ibid.*
242. Aṣṭāṅghṛdaya 1.14; Suśruta Saṁhitā, 42.3.
243. *ibid*; *ibid.*
244. Filliozat (Metraux & Crouzat eds), *The Evolution of Science*, p. 96.
245. *Ibid.*
246. SuśrutaSa ṁhitā
247. *Ibid.*
248. B.V. Subbarayappa, "India's Contribution to the History of Science", I.C.W.T.C., p. 63.
249. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, p. 184; Upadhyāya: *Feeders of Indian Culture*, p. 56.
250. Singhal, *above cited.*
251. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 283.
252. Medicine in Greece had made great advances in 6th cent B.C. At Croton, Rhodes, Cyrene, Cost Cnidus schools of medicine competed with each other for primacy. In 520 B.C. Democedes became the doctor of highest renown at the court of Darius I. Again in the middle of 5th cent. Onesilus of Cyprus, had a great reputation in the Oriental world and at the beginning of the 4th cent. Ctesias of Kindus, was the doctor of Artaxerxes II. Empirical observation freed itself more and more from magic but not completely. Luigi Pareti, *History of Mankind*, Vol. II, p. 418.
253. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. III, p. 283; Luigi Pareti, *op. cit.*
254. Very little is known about them except that they came from Asia Minor to work at Alexandria. Their works are entirely lost but for the reference found in the works of Galen (A.D. 131-201) and other scientists. The fact that these two medical men came from Asia Minor suggests that Alexandrian medicine may have been subjected to eastern influence. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 285.
255. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 284.
256. Both Herophilus and Erasistratus have been accused of practising vivisection. The Ptolemics are said to have permitted vivisection on condemned criminals. *C.A.H.* Vol. VIII, p. 286.
257. The attention paid to air resulted in the discovery of oxygen and the part it plays in supporting life. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 228.
258. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 286.
259. Henery R. Zimmer, *Hindu Medicine*, p. XLIX.
260. B.V. Subbarayappa, "India's Contribution to the History of Science" I.C.W.T.P., p. 58, Jean Filliozat, "The Expansion of Indian Medicine abroad" I.C.W.T.C., p. 67. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Anc. India*, p. 337.
261. Jean Filliozat, *op. cited.*

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262. Jean Filliozat, *op. cited*; Jairazbhoy, *Foreign Iufluence in Ancient India*, p. 79.
263. Zimmer, *Hindu Medicine*, p. XLIX.
264. Zimmer, *Ibid.*, p. XLIX.
265. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, p. 186.
266. Filliozat, "The expansion of Indian Medicine Abroad", ICWTC, p. 67.
267. Filliozat, *op cited.*, Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, p. 182; Banerjee, *Hellinism in Ancient India*, p. 231; Filliozat, *Classical Doctrine of Indian Medicine*,p. 226.
268. Filliozat, *Classical Doctrine of Indian Medicine*, p. 226.
269. *Ibid*; Banerjee, *Hellenism on Ancient India*, p. 280.
270. Essays and Discourses by Prafulla Chandra Roy, cited in Jairazbhoy, *Foreign Influence in Ancient India*, p. 79.
271. W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 386.
272. Supra, p. 11, footnote 46.
273. XVI. 135.
274. Hultzch, CII I, p. 4.
275. Filliozat, "Expansion of Indian Medicine Abroad", ICWTC, p. 67; S.K. Mitra, *India's Cultural Empire and Her Future.* Filliozat, *The Doctrine of the Classical Medicine of India*, p. 212. Suśruta uses pippali frequently in prescriptions for eye wash.
276. Royle, *An Essay on the Antiquity of the Hindu Medicine*, 1837.
278. B.V. Subbarayappa, "India's contribution to the History of Science", I.C.W.T.C, p. 58.
279. Indika XV.
280. Strabo, XV. 151.
281. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*, p. 380.
282. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 155.
283. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 305; Whitehead, JRAS 1933, p. 220.
284. Mahābhāśya IV 1.49; B.N. Puri, *India in the time of Patanjali*, p. 162.
285. Strabo, XV 686.719.
286. Philostratus in Honour of Apollonius of Tyana tr. J.S. Phillemore.
287. J Marshall, *Taxila* 1957 I, p. 207, II pp. 598, 660.
288. *Ibid.* I p. 207.
289. *Ibid.*, II p. 598.
290. Nowhere in the Hellenistic world have there been found translations of any piece of Greek literature into any language except Latin. One is not sure about the truth contained in the statement of Diochrysostom. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 379.
291. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*; Banerjee: *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 258.
292. Banerjee, *op. cited* , p. 258.

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293. Toynbee, *Mankind and Mother Earth*, p. 206.
294. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 259.
295. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 259; Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, p. 213.
296. Banerjee, *op. cited*; Jairazbhoy, *Foreign Influence in Ancient India*, 94.
297. Vishnu Sharma is said to be the mythical author of the Panchtantra.
298. Chāndogya Upanishad I 12, 1-5.
299. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization* p. 203.
300. *Ibid*; S.K. Mitra, *India's Cultural Empire and Her Future*, p. 23. Max Müller in his book, *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, held the view that in almost every case of parallelism, the borrowing was done by the Greeks. Amongst the many scholars who shared the view were Otto Keller and Johannes Hertel. Against them Theodor Benfy, who regarded India as the home of all folk tales, was of the opinion that India had borrowed animal fables from Greece, although he stressed the instance of an independent Indian tradition in this field. Another Sanskrit scholar A. Weber, who first believed in the theory of Indian origin, later on revised his opinion and propagated the view that in almost every case the Indians were the borrowers. This view was vigorously opposed by Keller. He fully believed in the Indian origin of the fables and that they were transmitted to Greece through an ancient Assyrian connective link. O. Keller, *The History of Greek Fables*, pp. 20-25.
301. Banerjee: *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 369.
302. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, pp. 217.18.
303. *Ibid.*
304. Singhal, *op. cited*, Banerjee *op. cited*, p. 370.
305. Rawlinson, *Intercourse Between India and the Western World*, p. 25.
306. *Ibid.*, Jairazbhoy, *Foreign Influence on Ancient India*, p. 97.
307. A.B. Keith, *Indian Drama*, pp. 57-68, Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 284.
308. Rig Veda X. 95.
309. Pāṇini Aṣṭādhyāyī—reference to the Natasutra of Shilalin and Krishasva.
310. Pātanjali reference to Kansavadha and Bali bandh, in Mahabhāsya.
311. Arthaśāstra IV. II. 202.
312. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 58.
313. T. Bloch, *Archaeological Survey of India* 1951, p. 11.
314. *Ibid.*
315. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 296.
316. A.B. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 66.
317. *Ibid.*
318. *Ibid.*, Singhal, *India and the World Givilization*, Vol. I, p. 58.
319. *Ibid.*, Singhal, Banerjee, *op. cited.*

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320. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 63, Singhal, *op. cited*, p. 58.
321. The name Yavanikā, the curtain in the Indian stage plays, clearly shows that the practice of using a curtain came from the Yavanas *i.e.* Greeks: Weber, ZDMG 1860, p. 269.
322. S.K. Chatterjee, *Indian Drama*, p. 8.
323. Rapson, "*Indian Drama*" *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV, p. 885.
324. Singhal: *India and the World Civilization* Vol. p. 57 Tran: *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 382-385.
325. Reich Der Minus 1903 i, ii Chap. viii p. 694 quoted by Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 282-283. According to Reich, Indian drama is not influenced by the Greek drama but the Greek mime. It would seem that companies of mime actors did visit India. Perhaps the extant parody of the Iphigeneia in Tauris in which the barbarian king is an Indian and talks pseudo Indian gibberish might corroborate this fact, but Keith does not agree with the theory. *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 68.
326. Marshall in *Cambridge History of India*, p. 656.
327. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 59.
328. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 136.
329. Jairazbhoy, *Foreign Influence in Ancient India*, p. 105; Keith, above *cited* p. 59.
330. Vidya Bhusan S.C., "Influence of Aristotle on the development of Syllogism in Indian Logic", JRAS 1910, pp. 469-88.
331. *Ibid.*
332. Thapar Romila, *A History of India*, Vol. I, p. 109.
333. Thapar Romila, *A History of India*, Vol. I, p. 109.
334. Tarn WW, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 316-23.
335. *Ibid.*

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CHAPTER IV

The Śaka Connection

After the Greeks the next foreign tribe to enter India was that of the Śakas.

Origin of the Śakas

The origin and homeland of the Śakas continues to be one of the biggest polemics of ancient history even to this day. A lot has been written regarding their ethinic affinities and original home and yet the riddle remains unsolved. The ancient Greeks use the the word *Scyth* or *Scyuth*[1] (*Śaka* or *Caha*)[2] in a generic sense, for all the nomads of the Eurasian steppes. According to these writers, Scythians also called themselves '*Śkol*' or '*Śakol*.' In the inscriptions of Darius they have been termed as '*Śakas*'. The same Śaka or Saga has been most widely used in Indian literature and records. The word Śaka is supposed to have been formed the Indo-European root "*SKEUD* meaning to *Śhoot*,[3] or from '*Śken*' meaning '*to watch*'. Its Iranian root '*Śak*', 'to go', 'to flow', 'to run' comes nearest to the word Śaka.[4] Its European equivalent Scythian is formed from the Iranian word *Śkutha*[5] meaning an 'archer.' The Babylon word 'Gimiri'[6] is a mere transcription of the Iranian word Śaka which originally and basically signifies a nomadic wanderer.

Racial Affinities

There is yet another moot point. In the end of the second millennium or in the beginning of the first millennium before Christ, the vast crescent shaped steppes stretching from the banks of Danube to the borders of China was inhabited by different groups of nomadic people who were skilled archers and trained horsemen.[7] All these tribes spoke the same language. It is universally acknowledged that

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their language was basically an Iranian[8] one but it might have been more closely allied to the Avestic rather than the ancient Persian language.[9] It is also conceded that some Ugrian elements crept in their language[10] which shows that the nomands mixed freely, had marital relations and cultivated a fair deal of a common form of speech.[11] Since all the nomads of the Scythian race spoke the same Iranian language it is reasonable to conclude that there was some sort of a racial bond among them.[12] A closer affinity is also suggested by the nature of their artistic representations which portray identical designs and features over so vast an area.[13] Yet at this remote period it is almost impossible to determine the exact racial group to which these nomads belonged. This problem has given rise to much controversy, some scholars suggesting that they were Huns and others like Niebuhr proposed that they were Turks and Mongols.[14] In the main, however, scholars mostly tend to agree that they were people of the Indo-European group,[15] possible of Iranian stock.[16] Their proximity both in habitat as well as in language lends strength to this view. Others link them with Ugro Altaian origin.[17] The anthropological material which can throw light on this problem is very scanty. There is also an occasional presence of a Mongoloid strain in the people found buried in the Pazirik mound of Altai mountain[18] which indicates marital relations between the eastern Scythians and the locals just as the Scythians living in the West were marrying the Greeks and Thracians.[19]

Different Tribes of Śakas

It appears that in the beginning of the first millennium before Christ, different tribes of Śakas were living in the region spreading from the Carpathian and the north of the Caspian Sea to the north of Oxus and Jaxartes, the Altai mountain and the borders of China.[20] The biggest clan among them were perhaps the Massagetae[21] or Mahāśaka[22]' the greak Śaka' inhabiting the tract of land to the east of Caspian Sea between the rivers Don and Jaxartes and above Khwarezm. They were nomads who had hardly passed out of chalcolithic civilization and were using the swords and spears made of brass

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and copper. The western section of these Massagetae was called Sarmat.[32] Another Śaka tribe, the Sakarauka,[24] or the Sai-Wang of the Chinese,[25] were spread out to the east of Massagetae, in the upper valley of Jaxartes upto Issykul. To the South of them lay Sogdiana, Dahae, another Śaka tribe lived between the Massagetae and the Sakarauka who later on moved to the Caspian border of Iran.[26] They were good horsemen. Later on about the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C. one of their tribes Parthi[27] or Parni[18] laid the foundation of the Parthian Empire. These and many other Śaka tribes[29] roamed the vast expense of Central Asia from Danube, Tien Shan to Altai region which was their original home[30] in the prehistoric period. The Russian archaeologists claim to have excavated the remains of these Śakas in the expeditions in the region of Altai and Pamirs.[31]

Early History of Śakas—A short sketch

It appears that there was a colossal movement of the Scytho-Iranian tribes in or about 800 B.C. which had great repercussions in the history of Iran, South Russia, Assyria, Ionia and India. In that period tribes became restive, following a severe draught in the steppes[32] and so one tribe struck against another tribe, clan against clan and there ensued a chaotic war of all against all. This exodus tallies with the march of certain well authenticated events in the Chinese history as related in the annals of the Chu-dynasty.[33] At this time wild Hiung-nu tribesmen, the forerunners of the later Huns, were harassing the peaceful agricultural communities of China's western border. By the 9th cent B.C. they were causing such extensive damage that the Chinese Emperor Su-an[34] (827-781 B.C.) waged war against them and pushed them far beyond the Chinese border. The retreating Hiung-nu dislodged their western neighbours from their traditional camping ground. They, in turn, fought against the next tribe, which for its part lashed out at its neighbour and soon after the entire steppe was in motion for securing new pastures. The above mentioned draught of 800 B.C. may well have served as the countributary factor in the west-ward migratory movement of these nomads. The result was that many Śaka tribes crossed the Jaxartes and spread

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all over Central and Western Asia, going as far as southern Russia[35] beyond the Volga, modern Armenia,[36] where they created havoc in Assyrian Empire,[37] and in the east pushed perhaps up to India.[38]

Śakas in the Achaemenian Period

The great Persian King Cyrus (550-530 B.C.) established his huge empire from the Nile to Gandhāra and Sogdiana but the Śaka settlements scattered from the Danube to the Jaxartes were making frequent incursions into his kingdom. To check them in the West he fortified Derbend[39] near the Caspian Sea, but the real trouble makers were the Śaka settlements between Aral and the Caspian Sea. Cyrus built another fort on the Jaxartes[40] but this did not prove sufficient to curb their forces. Cyrus marched against them, defeated them and killed their King Armog,[41] but was himself killed in the battle.[42] His successor, Darius, to avenge his death, attacked and crushed various eastern Śaka settlements[43] and checked their repeated incursions[44] into the Persian Empire. He also advanced against the Śakas living to the North of the Black Sea, on the banks of the Danube[45] (513-516 B.C.) Though Darius could not defeat them and had to retreat as the Śakas adopted their famous scorched earth policy,[46] but all the same most of their tribes were made to bow before the might of the emperor, who recounted them among his subjects, in his various records extolling his victories.

Śakas in Persian Inscriptions

The first epigraphical mention of the Śakas is found in the Behistun,[47] Persepolis[48] and Naksh-i-Rustam[49] inscriptions of Darius mostly in association with Bactria, Sogdiana and India. In the gold tablet inscription[50] of Darius his empire is said to have extended from the Śakas beyond Sogdiana to Ethiopia; from India to Sardis. Therefore, it seems that the Śakas mentioned here are all eastern Śakas.

The Naksh-i-Rustam inscription[51] mentions three different and widely separated individual Śaka Tribes.

1. *Śaka Tigrak-haudā*—wearers of of the pointed helmets as described by Herodotus.[52]

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2. *Śaka Haumavarkā*—the AUVPYLOI or perhaps the Amyrgian Scythians of Herodotus.[53]

3. *Śaka Taradaraya* or the "Śakas over the sea." These are the Scythians of Europe who inhabited the steppes of Russia to the North of Black Sea.[54]

All the three were subjects of Darius. These Śakas, settled on the borders of the Achaemenian Persian Empire seem to be desendents of the older immigrants in these regions who came from Central Asia about the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.[55] described earlier.

The first two branches of Śakas mentioned in the inscription have been located by scholars in widely distant regions which has given rise to the controversy about their original home.

The Original Home of Śakas

Herodotus mentions the Śakas in several places. According to him and other classical writers, the Persians used the word Śaka in a loose way to denote all Scythian people. Herodotus while describing the different national contingents of Xerxes's army, mustered for the invasion of Greece, also mentions some of these Śakas as 'Amyrgian Scythians'.[56] He tells us that "they were clad in trousers, had on their heads tall stiff caps rising to a point. They bore the bow of their country and the dagger; besides which they carried the battle axe or sagaris.[57] He again mentions them together with Bactrians[58] and Indians[59] and also as forming the fifteenth province of Darius together with Kaspeoi.[60] Arrian also refers to them in connection with Bactrians and Sogdians.[61] Megasthenes[62] tells us that Hemodon mountain separates India in the north from that part of Scythians which is inhabited by those Scythians who are called Sakai. Strabo[63] and Pliny[64] locate them beyond the Jaxartes. Strabo[65] again states that the ancient Greek historians called the tribes beyond Caspian Sea partly Sakai partly Messagetai. According to the map of Ptolemy[66] the route from Bactria to Sakai passes through Sogdiana between the Oxus and the Jaxartes. He has mentioned many Śaka tribes, along the Jaxartes

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e.g. Karatai, Komaroi, Komedai, Massagetai, Grynaioi, Skythai, Toorani and Byltai.

The inference surmised from the evidence cited above suggests that in the time of the Achaemenid Kings of Persia there were many Śaka tribes and except one that is mentioned as Śaka Taradarayā of Darius' inscription, all others belonged to the eastern part of the empire. Almost all the scholars agree that at this time the majority of the Śaka hordes were living in and around the river Jaxartes[67] which have been identified with Śaka Tigrakhaudā of the Naks-i-Rustam Inscription. At the same time it also seems likely that as a result of their great exodus of 900-800 B.C. some of the Śaka tribes percolated in the Dragiana Seistan[68] region in the vicinity of Bactria and India where they have been mentioned in both the accounts of the classical writers and the inscriptions of Darius. This branch has been identified with the Śaka Hamuvarka[69] of the Naksh-i-Rustam inscription.

Afterwards in the second century B.C. the northern Śaka settlements were once again disrupted and scattered by the strong Yueh-Chi pressure. Thus, driven and checked in the east by the Greek rulers of the Kabul Valley and in the west by the rising power of Parthia they moved South West in search of a new settlement and established themselves in Dragiana where their kinsmen had already been living from the earlier time. This region, the country of river Helmand, came to be known from this time onwards as Sakastan, i.e. the abode of Śakas, the later Persian Sijistan and modern Seistan.[70] The first definite information concerning Śakas of Seistan is given by Isodor of Charax[71] a geographer who lived in the reign of King Augustus (1st cent A.D.). Isodor gave the province the name Sakastan, meaning the country of Śakas. According to his information it belonged to or was occupied by 'Saca Scythians' and was one of the eighteen provinces of the Parthian Empire. It is reasonable to assume that the Śakas lived here for quite sometime, long enough to give the land their name.[72] Early epigraphic evidence also appears to support the theory that Sakastan which is at the base of modern Seistan was the original homeland of a large body of Indian Sakas. The Mathura

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Lion capital towards the end contains a line "*Sarvas Sakasthans puvae*" in honour of the whole Śaka Country.[73]

The kings of Parthia, who now held eastern Iran, were having constant wars with these Śakas in which their two kings Phraates II (138-128 B.C.) and Artabanus (128-123 B.C.) lost their lives. It was Mithradates II (123-88 B.C.) who finally subdued the Śakas and made Seistan a province of his dominion.[74] Many of the Śaka chieftains appear to have accepted the suzeranity of Parthia,[75] others who did not do so, finally migrated to India.[76]

Śakā Migration of the 2nd century B.C.

There was another great racial movement in Central Asia in the 2nd cent. B.C. The story of this movement is dealt with in the classical accounts and Chinese annals.[77] The facts gleaned from these works appear as follows. In the beginning of 2nd cent B.C. a tribe known as Hiung-Nu, defeated the Yueh-Chi, who had been living between Tun-Huang and Ki-lien. Thus, driven by them, the Yueh-Chi began their westward migration. The Yueh-Chi went to the river Ili where they clashed with another tribe with the name of Wu-Sun. The Wu-Sun were routed and their King was slain. The Yueh-Chi continued their westward journey towards the Issyk-Kul lake where they divided themselves into two groups—the one called the little Yueh-Chi went southwards and settled on the borders of Tibet, the other known as the Ta-yueh-Chi continued their movement towards the west until they came into contact with another people whom the Chinese call Sse, Sek or Sai-Wang[78] i.e, the Śaka king who are identified with the Śakas of Jaxartes region. About 160 B.C. they were defeated by the Yueh-Chi. Sai-Wang and his followers then went to Kipin[79] and made themselves masters of the place. The other Śaka tribes, divided and dispersed, formed different kingdom here and there. The Yueh-Chi themselves could not stay here for long as they were overpowered and driven away by their old enemy the Wu-Sun. Thus expelled, the Yueh-Chi again marched westward and their movement exerted pressure on the various Saka settlements of the region. The Sakas went south-wards and conque-

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red Tahia.[80] or Bactrians but from there, too, they seem to have been ousted by the Yueh-Chi, who were following them hard on their heels. Now driven from Bactria and checked in the east and west by the Greek rulers of Kabul valley and strong Parthian empire respectively the Śakas moved South-West and settled down in Dragiana Seistan.[81] It is evident that the Śakas had been shifting their habitat with the changing times. Originally they were living in and around the river Jaxartes but later on about the 2nd cent B.C. driven and pressed by the Yueh-Chi hordes, they made their home in Drangiana Seistan region which took its name from them. The Śakas were constantly at war with the Parthian kings whose kingdom extended up to Eastern Iran by this time. Finally Mithradates II (123-88 B.C.) put an end to this scourage by defeating Śakas and incorporating Drangiana in his dominion. The Sakas had to move again.

Śakadvipa or Indo-Scythia

The Śakas migrated along the line of least resistance into the country of lower Indus[82] which now became the strong hold of Sakas in India[83] and came to be known as Sakadvīpa or Indo-Scythia after their name. The classical writers speak of Indo-Scythians and their country Indo-Scythia. The Periplus[84] (1st cent A.D.) mentions the sea coast of Scythia, around the mouth of river Indus and its capital Minnagara which was subject to Parthian princes who were at war among themselves.

The same district is also known from the Geography of Ptolemy[85] (C 140 A.D.) as Indo-Scythia *i.e.* the Indian Sakastān which comprised Palatene (the Sindhu Delta) Abhīra (Abhira Country between Scythia on the lower Indus and the coast country of Saurastrena according to Periplus) and Saurastrene (modern Saurastra and Kathiawar). Dionysus Periegeta[86] records that the Southern Scythians had settled in the region of the lower Indus. The Indo-Scythia came to be known as Sakadvīpa of Indian literature. In the Bhīsmaparva of the Mahābhārata[87] there is a reference to Sakadvīpa and its people are grouped in four classes: Magas, Masakas, Mansas and Madangas. The identification of this Sakadvīpa has become a matter of great dispute. It has been identified differently as Sogdiana[88] Seistan,[89] the region

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from Syr-Darya to that of Volga and Don.[90] Among the rivers of Śakadvīpa river Sitā[91] is generally identified with the river Jaxartes. Rapson is of the opinion that after the settlement of that Śakas in Indus Valley Delta, the region came to be known as Śakadvīpa[92] in Indian literature.

Śakas in India

The story of Śakas coming to India is preserved in the tradition of Kalkāchārya Kathānaka,[93] a Jain work. A Jain partraich Kalkāchārya had a grudge against the king of Ujjayanī, Gardabhillā, who had taken liberties with his sister, a nun. Kālak finding no means of revenge forthcoming in his land, crossed the Indian frontiers on the west, went to Sagakula[34] and induced the Śaka chiefs called Sāhis, whose overlord was Shāhanu-Sāhi, to accompany him to Hindugadeśa. Defeated by Mithradates II, the Śakas were looking for an asylum and wanted a permanent home. Kālaka was seeking allies to deal with his enemy. The deal was struck. The Śaka chiefs, numbering ninety-six, who had fallen into disfavour with their king of kings, accepted the suggestion of Kālaka, to migrate with their fighting forces (Sabalavāhan) into Hindugadeśa. First they reached the Indus which was their first settlement in India and as such came to be called Śakadvīpa. Crossing the Indus they proceeded towards Saurashtra Viśaya (Kathiawar) and divided the country among themselves. Thereafter Kālaka led them to Ujjayanī, the capital of Gardabhillā who was defeated and taken captive, thereafter a line of Śaka kings was established at Ujjayanī. As for the duration of the Śaka rule at Ujjain there is no information. The Kathānaka abruptly comes to the point that after sometime, Vikramāditya,[95] Chief of Malwā, ousted the Śāka Dynasty and established his own era. There is no other source to corroborate this story but it may contain a genuine tradition of an early Scythic settlement in parts of Western and Central India.[96]

Similar Śaka settlements in Northern India are also attested to in some indifferently preserved Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in the extreme North.[97] The clear mention of the Chinese sources that Śaka King and his followers, after being driven away from their original homes[98]

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went and occupied Kipin, is apparently corroborated by these epigraphic sources.[99]

Śaka Migration to India

The Śaka period in Indian history is quite a long one. The Śakas appeared in or about the 1st cent. B.C., established their kingdom over the territory stretching from Gandhāra to Ujjain and from the Punjab to Mathurā, and continued to rule till the end of the 4th cent A.D., when they were finally wiped out by Chandra-Gupta II. The fixation of the route by which the Śakas entered India is controversial. It appears that the Śakas did not come to India through the usual highway of Khyber pass but adopted an indirect route. Presumably they passed through the western portion of Herat and Kandahār, came to north of Baluchistan and entered India through Bolan pass, reached lower Indus Valley known as Indo-Scythia.[100] From this base, perhaps, they moved up the valley of Indus and its tributaries and attacked the Yavana Kingdom. This asgumption is based on numismatic evidences. The coins of the early Śaka rulers of India are found in Arachosia and Gedrosia but they are conspicious by their absence in the hoard of coins discovered in the Upper Kabul Valley. Furthermore, it is certain that the Kabul Valley remained in the possession of the Yavana princes of the House of Eukratides even after the portions of Northern and Western India were occupied by the Śakas.

On the other hand, the Chinese sources explicity mention, as pointed earlier, that pressed by the Yueh-Chi hordes 'Sai Wang' went south, traversed Hi 'en-tu or the hanging gorge and made themselves masters of Kipin. There in no material to determine the route taken by these Śakas with absolute certainty but in that region there could not have been much choice of roads. Therefore it seems reasonable to assume that the 'Sakas passed into Udyana, descended through the Swat Valley and entered India from the north.'[101] This theory that Śaka tribes travelled from Upper Ili to Kipin through hanging pass has been rejected by some scholars for the reason of the alleged physical impassability of the route for the nomad tribe.[102]

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But this does not seem such an impractability. The legend of Kustana son of Aśoka founding a kingdom in Khotan[103] presupposes crossing of northern passes. Moreover there was a general trade route in later historical period. Again in the 8th cent. A.D. in the T'ang period, a Chinese army of 10,000 crossed the northern passes to occupy the regions of north and west.[104] However, the Śakas must have covered it in considerable time and achieved by stages. The direct southward movement of the Śakas is political as well as physically feasible.[105] On the basis of the above evidence it appears more probable that the Śakas favoured two routes[106] for coming to India. One was the direct route passing through Gilgit and Swat Valley[107] which was taken by a smaller band of Śakas as indicated by the Chinese sources and the other was the indirect one going through the Bolan pass, adopted by the majority of Śaka immigrants. Both the routes are sufficiently corroborated by literary and numismatic data respectively.

Śakas known to Indian Literature

The Śakas were known to the Indians from very early times. Pātanjali commenting on Pāṇini[108] refers to Śakas as *Śūdrānām anivarsitānām*. It is apparent that at the time of the commentator (2nd cent. B.C.) the Śakas were living with the Yavanas outside the limits of Āryavarta.[109] The Ramāyāṇa places the settlement of Śakas (Śakānām Pattanani) along with those of Kambojas and the Yavanas in the extreme north beyond the kingdoms of the *Surasena Bharatas*, *Kurus* and *Madras*.[110] The Mahābharāta refers to Śakas along with the *Pahalvas*, *Barbaras Kirātas*, and Yavanas and locates them in the extreme north beyond Śākala, the capital of the Madras.[111] The Sabhāparva speaks of the victory of Nakula over them.[112] The Śakas fought on the side of the Kurus.[113] The *Harivaṁsa*[114] had a characteristic description of the Śakas who used to shave off half of their heads. According to the same text, the Yavanas and Kambojas used to shave off their heads fully, the Paradas wore their hair loose and the Pahalavas had moustaches and beards. All these were allied people and had fallen from the original dharma.

The Manu Smṛti[115] also mentions them along with the Yavanas,

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Kambojas and Pahalavas who were all described as low caste Kshatriya and Vrishalas due to the non-observance of Brahmanic practices. The Charaka Saṁhitā[116] mentions that Śakas and their associates Yavanas, and Pahalvas eat meat. They are also mentioned in the Purāṇas. Then the Matsya, the Yuga and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas mention Śaka eighteen Kings who ruled for a hundred and eightythree years after the Andhrās and Satvāhanas.[117] The Yuga-Purāṇ[118] clearly mentions that the Śakas came after the Yavanas and after the Sunga king Vasumitra. They fought against Odraka, possibly the last of Śungas.[119] This incident, perhaps, refers to the South Western Śakas. All these references amply establish that Indians had known these Śakas from a very early time.[120] Unfortunately, the Indian sources are particularly silent about their ethnic origin and their original home, but the Śakas indisputably represented a foreign element in a society which could easily give them a local status.

Śaka Rulers of India

The nomenclature of the early Śakas in India shows that they included diverse elements among them such as Scythian, Parthian and Iranian. Before entering India the Śakas lived for a long period in Iranian Sakastan under Parthian rule.[121] Here they must have received a good deal of mixture of blood.[122] Nothing can be said with absolute certainty about the character and career of these foreign rulers, who ruled the lower Indus Valley, the Punjab, Gandhāra, Arachosia and Drangiana. In India the Śakas were instrumental in ending Greek rule as is indicated by the numismatic evidence. Their numerous coinages are almost without exception, copied from the Yavana Kings ruling in those areas.[123] In them the Parthians and Scythians are so closely associated that it is almost impossible to distinguish[124] them.

Maues

The first Śaka ruler in India was Maues or Moga (1st cent B.C.-20-22 A.D.) who is known both from coins[125] and inscriptions.[126] He defeated the Indo-Greek rulers and extended his empire

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upto Taxilā, Gandhāra and Kapiśā in the North West, some parts of the Punjab and perhaps Mathurā.[127] It is difficult to fix the eastern frontier of his empire.

When Maues was ruling in India, Vonones was ruling in Archosia and the neighbouring regions on the western border of India. His name is obviously Parthian and the name of his associates such as Spalhora, Spalagdama and Spalarises are pan-Iranic[128] and Scythian.[129] Because of the predominance of Parthian and Iranian elements, this dynasty has been described Parthian by many scholars.[130] Spalarises was the last ruler of this dynasty.

Numismatic evidence clearly shows that Maues was succeeded by Azes I (cent 5 B.C.—A.D. 30) in whose time both the houses were joined. The exact relationship between Azes, Maues and Spalarises is not known.[131] Azes I expanded the Śaka rule in the Punjab and destroyed the remnants of the Indo-Greek rulers of the region. Under Azes II (cent 35 A.D.) the last ruler of the line, the Śaka empire fell on evil days and the Parthian Chief Gondophares[132] asserted his supremacy in the Punjab Gandhāra and Kabul regions, where he probably ousted the last Indo Greek King Hermeaus. Originally Gondophares was a Parthian Viceroy of Arachosia under Orthagnes, the king of Parthia. The Śaka Parthian rule in N.W. India was short lived. After Gondophares they were soon ousted by the Kushāṇas from Central Asia. The Kushāṇas ruled India more extensively and for a longer duration.

The Śaka and Pahalava Kings governed their kingdom through Kshatrapas and Strategoi (the military governor). These lesser kings under patronage of their suzerain appear to have spread out into the far interior regions. Chuksha and Taxilā under Maues were administed by Kshatrapa Laika Kusulaka and his son Patika.[133] Another Kshatrapa connected with the West Punjab region was Zeionises (Jihunia)[134] son of Kshatrape Manigula who was supposed to be the contemporary of Azes II. The Mathurā region was governed by Kshatrapa Rajula and his son Sodāṣa.[135] A long line of later powerful Śaka Kshatrapas was ruling in the North-West India where they

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continued their stronghold till the end of the 4th Cent. A.D. They were almost independent people owing only nominal allegiance to Kushāṇa kings.

Śaka contribution to Indian Civilization

Before their coming to India the Śakas were imbued with Irano-Parthian culture as a result of their living together for a long time. In India though the Śakas ended the Greek rule, they were deeply impressed by their high degree of culture and developed civilization. During the Śaka period, the influx of Greek notions and ideas continued as before. In India the Śakas found their permanent home, which had been eluding them since their great exodus of 2nd cent. B.C. They now settled here, adopted its language, religion, social customs and were gradually absorbed in the social order of the country. At this time India came in contact with various cultural traditions to a greater extent than here to fore. Under the Śakas all these different civilizations viz. Iranian, Parthian, Greek and Indian came to bear upon one another. The constant criss cross of ideas and traditions acted as a 'powerful ferment' which enriched the multifarious development of Indian civilization during and after the Śaka period.

Art and Architecture

The Gandhāra Art

The Gandhāra Art[136] took its origin from the Indo-Greeks[137] but it was shaped after their decline during the Śaka rulers of North West India.[138] The real makers of Gandhāra Art were the invaders from Central Asia, the Śakas and the Kushāṇas.[139] The technique used here is no doubt Hellenistic but is amply modified by Iranian Parthian and Scythian traditions,[140] which can be termed as eclectic. The earliest example of Gandhāra Art so far discovered is the *Bimran* reliquery[141] which circumstantially has to be dated in the reign of Azes I. It is a golden casket, with standing figures of Buddha and worshippers in relief in niches, the base engraved with Indian lotus.[142] The mobility of figures is striking, and the free and dynamic quality is

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further accentuated by the flowing treatment of the drapery, which covers the body entirely from shoulder to ankles.[143] The free standing figure of Buddha from *Loriyan Tangai* dated in the year 318 of an unspecified era is a specimen of early Gandhāra Art.[144] It is in a static pose. The drapery here does not seem to be treated as a separate and voluminious mass, though there is a conscious attempt to make the forms underneath the garment visible.[145] The move towards a diaphanous treatment of the drapery was gradually becoming prominent but it could be perfected only in the 3rd and 4th cent. A.D. a later development. The well-known Buddha from *Takht-i-Bahi* appears also to belong to the same period as that of Loriyan Tangai.[146] In the Buddha from Charsaddā, dated 384 of an unspecified era, in the standing Buddha from *Sahri Bahlol*, the transparency of the drapery becomes more and more pronounced.[147] In the image of Hāriti from *Skarah Dehri*, though the drapery is less transparent, yet it has a certain rough and rustic strength which is also noticeable in the fugures of Kanishka reliquary from *Shah-ji ki-Dehri*. From now onwards stylization sets in which is characteristic of Gandhāra art from about 2nd cent A.D.[148]

Thus, it appears that Gandhāra art came into being during the Śaka rule in India. The early Gandhāra art, represented in the coins was strongly influenced by Hellenistic traditions but under the Śakas the process of Indianization[149] had begun which continued during the period of the Kushāṇas.

Architecture

The new trends introduced by the Indo Greeks in art and architecture continued to prosper during this period. The excavations, at Taxilā and many other sites of ancient Gandhāra, have brought to light a large number of sculptural and architectural remains belonging to this period which testify to this fact.[150] It is evident from the excavations at Taxilā that by the time Śakas reached India, they had already developed a taste for city life. The layout of this Śaka Parthian city is on chess board pattern and conforms to the Helle-

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nistic models.[151] The general tenor of life seems to have been rather simple and unsophisticated. The remains of the royal palace dug up at Sirkap show that though the palace was larger and built more substantially than the private houses there was nothing "pretentious and sumptuous in its adornment."[152]

Coinage

In the art of coinage the Śaka kings continued the Greek tradition. Their coins in most of the cases, are mere adaptations of Indo-Greek coins though striking originalities are occasionally met with.[153] The decadence which had set in, in the die cutters and the moneyers technique during the later part of Indo-Greek rule continued throughout the period of Śaka domination though in its early stages the gradual decay seems to have been temporarily arrested. The Śakas, like most of the Indo-Greeks, did not strike gold, their coins were mostly of silver and copper.

Language and Literature

The Śakas were warlike people, their life being pre-eminently a life of unrelieved soldiery. They did not possess any literature of their own. The language they spoke was of Iranian origin, which, it is believed, was adopted by the Kushāṇas and reduced to writing in Greek letters either at Bactria or Kapiśā.[154] The continued use of Greek legend on early Śaka coins shows their familiarity with the language.[155] The long association of the Śakas with the Achaemenian emperors and their successors the Parthians had imbided them with that culture, and the rich Persian language had endowed them a sensitivity to understand and appreciate the rich Sanskrit language[156] which was current in India at the time of the Śakas arrival. The Upanishads, Brāmaṇas and Dharmasūtras had already been completed and the drafts of early Smritis were ready.[157] Reaching India the Śakas developed a new faculty that of imbibing the life and culture of the land of their adoption. This new trend made them staunch supporters of Sanskrit language especially the Śaka rulers of South West India. Their king Rudradāman himself "well-versed in grammar,

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politics, music, logic and adept in composing literary pieces in prose and poetry"[158] was the first Indian king to inscribe his inscriptions in chaste classical Sanskrit. It is an example of beautiful Sanskrit prose, the first such example after the Brāhmaṇas.[159] Aśoka composed his edicts in Pāli and Sātavāhanas, the Brahmin rulers of the South, had their records in Prakrit. The inscriptions of the successors of Rudradāman are also mostly written in Sanskrit. The legends on the latter coins of Dāmaghsada, son of Rudradāman are in pure Sanskrit.[160] The tradition was continued by his son Satyadāman.[161]

Śakas and Indian Drama

With their zest for Sanskrit, the Śaka kings of Ujjayanī and Mathurā imparted a fresh impetus to the revival and growth of Sanskrit drama,[162] although by no stretch of imagination can the origin of Sanskrit drama, as such, can be ascribed to them.[163] Sanskrit drama originated in India and its technique had been completely worked out before the beginning of the Christian era, though some Greek influence on it cannot be ruled out.[164] When the Śakas came to India Sanskrit drama existed in its developed form.[165]

The character of Sakāra,[166] i.e., king's brother in law (Śyālaka) of the Sanskrit drama, which occurs for the first time in *Charudatta* of *Bhāṣa* and later in *Mricchakatika* of Śūdraka, is a ridiculous figure, a brawling scoundrel, provoking laughter and contempt among the audience. Such a figure was evidently introduced to lower the alien Śakas in the estimation of public and has hardly anything to do with the Śaka influence on Indian drama.

Astronomy and Astrology

It is an universally acknowledged fact that the Greek science of astronomy and astrology influenced the Indian system to a great extent[168] especially the astrology which the Greeks learnt from Babylonians. But this influence seems to have taken shape largely during the Śaka rule. When the Greeks were ruling the North West parts of India, the development of Greek astronomy and astrology was in an early stage. The Indian astronomy as propounded in later

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Sanskrit text books is derived from the astronomy of Alexandrian School[169] which was a later development. Moreover, Greek houses of North and North-West India were drawn into constant struggle to retain their political powers and disturbed political conditions were hardly congenial to finer social and cultural pursuits. It was left to their political successors, viz., the Śakas, to establish political stability and propagate and stabilise whatever new ideas had been introduced by the Greeks. The Śakos took up the thread where the Greeks had left.[170] It was at Ujjayanī, possibly the capital of Western Kshatrapas, that Greek astronomy was transplanted into Indian Soil[171] and the pioneer in this field was Varāhmihira.[172]

Trade and Economy

The Age of the Śakas is marked by a steady growth of Indian Economic life. The discovery of monsoon winds by Hippalus sn A.D. 47 led to the discovery of new sea routes especially to Rome. Roman kings were quick to estimate the advantages of the direct maritime trade with Indian. Trade with Rome was also partly responsible for spurring Indian interest in trade with South-East Asia during theŚaka pariod.[173] Land routes via Burma and Assam were attempted[174] but the sea route was found more convenient.[175] The risks were great, as it is evident from the stories relating to the adventures of merchants in the Suvarnabhūmi,[176] comprising probably the Malaya Peninsula and Burma, while Suvarṇadvipa might have stood for Java, Sumatra and other is lands frequented by Indian merchants. The great profits on the spices sold to the Romans compensated for the hazards. These commercial relations with the South East Asia led to the later Indian colonization of that part.[177] Śakas seem to have derived considerable revenue from the import duties levied at these ports. Śulka or custom duty is actually mentioned in the Girnār record of Rudra-dāman[178] as the chief source of income of the exchequer.

The Overland trade whidh probably originated in the time of the Mauryas and the Indo-Greeks was developed and the area widened as Central Asia hed also been opened to trade with the coming of Śakas.[179] The famous silkroute[180] traversing the oasis and

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valleys of Central Asia was much frequented and Indian traders established trading stations and merchant colonies in places as Kāshgar, Yārkand, Khotan, Mirān, Kuchi, Turfan and others.[181]

Trade and commerce cannot prosper without bank facilities which were provided by the guild organizations[182] in ancient India as is evident from inscriptions. The Śaka kings encouraged the guilds to flourish, just according to the injunction of the lawgivers that the guilds were to be respected by the kings if they were not against public interest.[183] The Nasik Inscription (No. 12) records the investment of Ṛṣabhadatt,[184] son-in-law of Nāhpans, of 2,000 Kārshāpaṇas with the western weaver's guild at the rate of 10% interest per month with the condition that the princinpal should remain fixed and only the interest was to be paid. This is something like the fixed deposit of the present day banking system.

Religion of the Śakas[185]

With the passage of time the Śakas became gradually Indianised[186] and accepted Indian faiths and Most of the northern Śaka kings and Kshatrapa of Taxilā and Mathurā become Buddhists as is borne out by their inscriptions.[187] The Śakas of Mathurā, though Buddhists, patronized and favoured other sects like Jainism and Nāga cults as well. A large dumber of Jain inscriptions about 84, have been discovered from the Kankālītīla site of Mathurā[188] and also three inscriptions of Nāga cult.[189] Mathurā was a strong centre of Jainism during the Śaka period. Though there is no archaeological evidence to connect Śakas with Jainism, it is not impossible that many of them got attracted towards[190] it. There has been an attempt to trace the figures of Śiva on the coins of Maues and Gondophares.[191] In the Mahābhārat also Śankara is said to have been worshipped in Śaka-dvīpa[193] but there is no archaeological evidence to connect the Śakas with Saivism. Nothing is known with certainty about the religious leanings of the Śakas of South-West India but Ṛṣabhadatta among them favoured both Brahmanism and Buddhism.[193]

Sun Worship of Śakas

In the field of religion the Sakas made a very important and

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independent contribution. They introduced a new form of Sun Cult[194] in which the Sun was worshipped in an anthropomorphic form. Sun worship was not new to India. There already existed an indigenous and nationi traditional of sunworship as is referred to in the Vedas, Brāhmaṇs, Upanishads, Epics and the early Purāṇas (Vishṇu, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and Matsya especially) wherein Sun is worshipped in its natural form.[195] People worshipped the orb of the Sun [196] or its symbolic form like disc, lotus, swastika and wheel.[197] Images and temples of the Sun were not in existence and if known, were not popular in India before the advent of the Śakas.[198] The Magas[199] who came with the Śakas from Śakadvīpa were responsible for introducing the image form of sunworship and sun temples[200] in India. In many late Purāṇas, there are direct references to the coming of Magas from Śakadvīpa specially for becoming the priests of Sun temples[201] in India. The legend in all of them is more or less the same. Sāmba, the son of Krishṇa and Jāmbavatī, was cursed by his father to suffer form leprosy for his undesirable relation with the other wives of Vāsudeva Krishṇa. Nārada advised Sāmba to worship sun to get himself cured.[202] Sāmba consrtucted a temple of the sun on the banks of Chandrabhāga (modern Chenab) for the worship of the sun to get cured of the dreadful disease. An image of god came miraculously floating on the water. Sāmba installed it in the temple but no local priest was ready to accept the office of a regular priest of this temple. Sāmba sought the help of Gauramukha, the priest of Ugrasena. He advised him to get the Magas, who were the special Sun worshipping priests of the Śakadvīpa. Sāmba went there on the back of Gāruḍa, his father's vehicle, and brought eighteen families of the Māga priests and established them as the priest of the temple he had constructed. There is also a recorded history of the Magas. Sugihva was a Brahmin of Mitra gotra. He had a daughter named Nikṣubhā with whom Sun fell in love. Niksubhā had a son by him named Jarāśabda or Jarāśasta. From him sprang all the Magas. They wore a girdle around their waist called Avyanga.[203] In earlier literature also such as the Mahābhārata,[204] and Vishnu Purāṇa,[205] the Magas are mentioned as one of the four castes[506] of Śakadvīpa, but there is

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no reference to the legend of Sāmba. The Puranic data on the Magas is also confirmed by Varāhmihira[207] who clearly instructed that the installation and consecration of Sun Images should be done by the Magas. He further says that image of the Sun should be dressed in Udichya Veśa (the dress of Śakas comprising long coat and trousers) should be encircled by an Avyaṇga and his feet and legs should be covered up to the knees.[208] The temple at Chandrabhāga was the one in Multan which is described by Hiuen-Tsang[209] in glowing terms in the 7th cent A.D. Many Muslim historians also give an account of this temple.[210] Alberuni knew this fact because he has recorded that the ancient Persian priests came to India and became known as Maga.[211] The later Purāṇas also refer to three centres of Sunworship of the Magian variety. The first is Mūlasthāns, on the banks of river Chandrabhāgā also referred to as Maitravarna.[212] This is identified with Multan.[213] In Bhavisya and Sāmba Purāna, this temple is described as Ādyasthān, meaning the original place of Magian Sunworship.[214] The other two are Kālpriyā, identified with modern Kalpi on the southern bank of Yamuna[215] and Koṇāditya or Konark in Utkala.[216] All this evidence conclusively proves that a certain class of priests known as Magas and devoted exclusively to sunworship were brought to India from Śakadvīpa and under their influence the Magian type of sun-cult spread throughout North India reaching up to the eastern-most extremities.[218]

This fact is corroborated by archaeological evidence also. As already stated above, right from the Vedic times Sun was worshipped either in its natural form[219] or through symbols[220] such as the rayed disc, the Svastika,[221] the lotus,[222] the six armed symbol[223] and the taurine.[224] Symbolic representation of the Sun is also found on the early coins throughout India.[225] Although a description of the anthoropomorphic form of the sun is often found in the Epics, there is no evidence in these texts of the iconic tradition of the Sun.[226] In the Puranic texts also there is no direct reference to the image of the sun rather it is explicity stated in Sāmba Purāṇa that in ancient India there was no image of the Sun.[227] The sacred literature starts mentioning the Sun images from around the 5th cent. A.D. References to Sun

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images have been found in the late chapters of Matsya Purāṇa (C 550-650 A.D.) and Sāmba Purāṇa (whose earliest date goes back to 500 A.D.). Both refer to sun images in connection with Magas, but the specimens of the sun images have been found one or two centuries before Christ. They are in the old stone railing of Bodhgayā[228] (1st cent B.C.) at the facade of the Buddhist Bhajā Cave[229] (1st or 2nd cent B.C.), on the column found at Lala Bhagat (near Kanpur 2nd cent A.D.)[230] and the surya relief of Anant-gumphā cave of Khandagiri group of Jain shrines[231] (Orissa 1st cent A.D.) Since these specimens of Sun images have been found in association with non-Brahmanical cult, that is Buddhist and Jain there may be some foreign element in them.[232] From the second century onwards the Magian form of sun cult was introduced in solar iconography.[233] In the images of this period Sun is shown with Iranian features, dressed in long coat, trousers and high boots and a girdle or avyanga round the waist. Many images are found from Gandhāra and Mathura regions of the Kushāṇa and the post-Kushāṇa period. A small figure of Sūrya in black slate found in Gandhāra (Kushāṇa period) is seen wearing high boots.[234] The Mathurā School of Art has produced a number of such sun icons both standing and seated, wearing Indo-Scythian dress, sometimes with a helmet, earrings and necklace, in others with moustaches.[235] It stands to reason as Mathura was the most important centre of the Magian type of Sunworship in the Śaka Kushāṇa period.[236] This archaeological evidence amply corroborates the literary evidence discussed above that Magas, the Sunworshipping priests, came in the wake of Śakas from Śakadvīpa and introduced the tradition of sun icons and sun temples which made the sun cult popular in North India. The royal patronage of the Śakas and Kushāṇas was a major contributory factor in their success.[237]

Costumes and Customs

The credit of introducing stitched dress like tunic and trousers goes to the Śakas.[238] Their characteristic outfit was the pointed cap and long wide trousers of a soft material, which were sometimes tucked into pliable boots reaching half way upto the calves. The coat

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was of the same material as the trousers and was fastened by a belt. Sometimes it was so cut as to form a sort of apron which reached down the knees."[239] Though introduced by the Śakas, it took considerable time to be adopted by Indians, for it is only in the Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age that Indians are found wearing them, though rarely. In the paintings of Ajanta caves Kings are shown wearing trousers and tunics when they went hunting.[240] High army officers also wore them. It appears that the costume could not be very popular. Later on it was introduced in the country by the Mughals and perfected by the Nawabs of Oudh.[241]

Polyandry and the custom of Satī was also encouraged by the Śakas.[242] Group marriage was customary among the Śakas living in central Asia.[243] The custom of Satī had prevailed in India from very early times but it received support from the Śakas[244] as it had been normal with them to burn the wives with the remains of their dead husband.[245]

Śaka Era

A major contribution of these Śaka kings was the introduction of the use of a popular era in their records. Before their coming there was no established era in India, the reason being that the majority of the Indian kings dated their records according to their own regal reckoning. On the other hand, the use of an era was a familiar practice in the lands through which these Śaka kings came. The most popular eras of those regions were Seleucid era of 312 B.C. and the Parthian era of 248 B.C.

From a number of inscriptions of the early Śaka period it is evident that these kings were accustomed to dating their events, e.g., Taxilā Copper plate inscription of the year 78;[246] Kalwan Copper plate inscription in the year 134;[247] the Taxilā silver scroll inscription of the year 136[248] and many others. Since the dates occurring in on these inscriptions do not specify the era, there is a general controversy among scholars about these dates. Divergent views have been expressed and an impression has emerged that more than one type of reckoning was prevalent at that time. That the era of the Taxilā

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Copper plate was not of Indian origin is clear since the name of the month in the record is Parthian.[250] The possibility is that early Śakas brought with them an era of Parthian origin and that it probably marks the establishment of the new Kingdom in Seistan after its incorporation into Parthian empire by Mithra-dates I c 150 B.C.[251] or it commemorates the Śaka reign in Parthia in 129 B.C.[252]

The establishment of two Eras which are used in India till this day—the Vikram era of 58 B.C. and the Śaka era of 78 A.D.—is attributed to these foreign kings.

In all likelihood Vonones, who was the first independent Parthian ruler of Seistan, founded an era which was instituted to oust the early Parthian era of 248 B.C.[253] As he could have been independent only after Mithra-dates II (123-88 B.C.) he seems to have flourished in the middle of the 1st cent. B.C.[254] Therefore, it stands to reason that he started this era of 58 B.C. popularly known as Vikram Samvat. In the beginning, this era was known as Kṛita era or the reckoning associated with the republic of Mālav tribe.[255] The Mālavs originally lived in the Punjab and apparently submitted to the Greek and Scytho-Parthian conquest of the land. Under the pressures of these foreign tribes they gradually migrated to Rajputana and ruled over the area around Nāgara, in old Jaipur State.[256] Ultimately they gave their name to Malwa in Madhya Bhārat. It was, therefore, the Mālavs who carried the Scytho-Parthian era of 58 B.C. from the Punjab to Rajputana and then to Madhya Bharat.[257] In this region the era came to be associated with the Mālavas and with Kṛita who seems to have been an illustrious leader of the Mālavas.[258] With the development of the legend of Vikramāditya Śakāri about the 8th cent A.D.[259] as the exterpator of foreigners this Śaka era came to be associated with him.

Another school of thought attributes the foundation of this era of 57 or 58 B.C. to Azes I[260] and some other to Kanishka[261] not withstanding the fact that the year 58 B.C. is too early for Kanishka.[262]

The usual belief about the Śaka era is that it was founded by Vikramāditya, son of Mahendrāditya, ruler of Mālwa to mark the emancipation of the land from the Śaka domination. But since we

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know that the Śakas continued to rule over Malwa and the adjoining areas for many centuries after 58 B.C., there appears no reason to believe that the area was freed from Śaka domination around 58 B.C. The near possibility is that this era was started by an Indian ruler who headed the forces which defeated and ousted the Śakas temporarily from Ujjain around 58 or 57 B.C.[263] This era naturally became a popular reckoning of the time as it commemorates a natural victory over the invader. The era could also have been accepted by the defeated people as a date to remember so that posterity need not forget a defeat to be avenged.[264]

Besides the era of 58 B.C., another era was also in use during the initial centuries of Christian era. The Śaka rulers of Mālva dated their coins and inscription in that era. It has been suggested that this was the well-known Śaka Śālivahāna era of 78 A.D. which is even now in vogue in some parts of India. A legend is current that Sālivāhan, son of a virgin by a serpent, killed Vikramāditya of Ujjayanī and to commemorate this victory he established an era.[265] In the Śolāpuram grant of Virūpāksha of Śaka 1389 this era is described as Śalivāhana-nirnīta-śaka-varśa-karmagatē[266] marking Śalivāhan directly responsible for the establishment of this era.[267] This era is used in inscriptions and literature in a variety of ways, sometimes as that of the coronation of a Śaka King or marking the end of the Śaka rule in India.[268]

Sometimes the Kushāṇa ruler Wima Kadphises is credited with the establishment of this era as he regained his lost dominions in India by ousting the dynasty of Vikramāditya from Ujjain and appointed his governors to rule Mālva and Saurashtra.[269]

However, the most widely accepted view remains that the era in question was established by the Kushāṇa Emperor Kanishka, who started his rule from the year 78 A.D.[270] This era though founded by Kanishka came, to be known as Śaka kāla or Sakābda, after the Śakas, the reason being that this era was in continuous use throughout the long reign of Śaka Kshatrapas of Western India even after the decline of Kushāṇa power. Originally these Śaka Kshatrapas were the feudatories of Kanishka and his successors and naturally used the

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era of their overlord. Later on, after the weakening of the Kushāṇa empire they were ruling like independent rulers but they continued the use of that era till they were annihilated by Chandra Gupta II in the 4th Cent A.D.

To sum up, it can be said that originally the Śakas brought an era of Parthian origin with them, which is found on early Śaka inscriptions. Later on in all likelihood, one of their own king founded an era in 58 B.C. which came to be known as Vikrama Samvat. Another era beginning from 78 A.D. and supposed to be founded by Kanishka was popularised by the later Śakas of Western India which came to be known after their name. Therefore, the credit for starting the tradition of founding an era and its continuous use in India goes to the Śakas.

Conclusion

The character of Śakas, outside India remained for the most part, tribal, predatory and brutal though softened a little by their long association with Iranian and Parthians civilizations. They had no particular religion or established social order. This, however, served them as an asset on their arrival in India, for they easily succumbed to and accepted the Indian social organization, religion and language and became one with the Indian population at large. Their imortant independent contribution to Indian civilization is the practice of using a continuous era and the Magian type of sunworship, along with the introduction of a few new social customs and traditions. The Śakas also started the syncretism of the Iranian, Parthian Greek and Indian ideas, which reached its apex during the Kushāṇa period. Besides, the Śakas also established and propagated the Greek ideas and knowledge, in the fields of art, astronomy, astrology, medicine and other sciences and shaped them in a manner so as to render them acceptable to Indian Society. The Śaka Kings, especially of the Śakas of Western India proved a boon to the cultural life of the country as they accepted the Sanskrit language as their own and encouraged and patronized the learning, literature and Sanskrit dramas.

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During the Śaka rule, trade was expanded to the lands hitherto untapped and the Indian economy was given a boost. In pursuit of trade Indian merchants travelled to Central Asia and the Far East where they formed their colonies. These colonies were the repositries of Indian culture, religion and ideas. Thus, the Śakas also became the great intermediaries through whom Indian civilization and religion spread to Central Asia and the Far East.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Gordon Childe, Encylopaedia Britanica, 1959, pp. 235. 38; Krisler S.B., *Altai V. Skifskoye Vremiya*; pp. 157-72.
2. Rice T. Talbot, *The Scythians*, p. 42.
3. O. Szemerenyi, Z.D.M.G., Vol. 101, 1951, p. 212.
4. O. Szemerenyi, Z.D.M.G., Vol. 101, 1951, p. 212.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Rawlinson G—*History of Herodotus* III, p. 180.
7. Rice T. Talbot—*The Scythians*, pp. 16-17; Rahul Śānkrityāyan—*Madhya Asia Kā Itihāsa*, pp. 73-74.
8. Sṭen Konow C.I,I. Vol. II, part I, p. XXXVIII; Rahul Śānkrityāyan, *Madhya Aśia Kā Itihāsa*, p. 66; Thomas F.W. 'Sakastan' J.R.A.S. 1906 p. 198; Bagchi P.C. "The Role of Central Asian Hordes in the history of India :" Presidential Address of the Indian History Congress, Aligarh, 1943, p. 33.
9. Rice T. Talbot— *The Scythians*, p. 39.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. Rahul Śānkrityāyan, *Madhya Aśia Kā Ithihāsa*, p. 64. He maintains that though there may be some local differences here and there, in such a vast area but basically and essentially all the nomads were one and the same in their social customs and traditions, food, drink, dress, weapons and instruments.

    Modern Soviet Scholars use the term 'Scythian' in its narrow sense, applying it only to the comparatively smaller number who lived on the shores of the sea of Azov, the Black Sea, the Kuban, the Deniper. T. Rice has also grouped them under two heads, Royal Scythians, the nomads living in the South of Russia and the kindered Scythians, the nomads inhabiting the area in the eastern part, around the Altai mountains. But she concedes that there is no marked difference in the clothing and equipment, customs and traditions,

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tastes and interests of these two people. *The Scythians*, pp. 32-40.

13. *Ibid* p. 42.
14. Niebuhr, "Unter schurgen uber die Geschichte der Sky then, Geten and Sarmaten." Kleine Schriften p. 362 cited in Budha-Prakash, *India and the World*, p. 193.
15. Rahul S.—*Madhya Aśia Kā Itihāsa*, pp. 62-64. According to him in about the 3rd millennium B.C. the mixed Śakas & Indo Europeans were living together in upper part of Central Asia right from Volga to China. Later on by the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. or so the Indo-Europeans wandered southwards where they came in contact with materially and culturally advanced chalcolithic civilizations of the Tigris, Euphrates and Indus which accelerated their progress and advancement. The Scythians still living by themselves remained stuck up on the primitive civilization. Though some of their groups became agrarian and started leading a settled life the majority among them were nomadic; Mullenhoff K-DEUTSCHE ALTERTUM SKUNDE-II; Bagchi P.C. *India & Central Asia*, pp. 1, 2.
16. Sten konow-CII; p. XXXVII; Thomas "Sakastan" J.R.A.S. 1906 p. 198; Bagchi P.C. "The Role of Central Asian Hordes in the history of India." pp. 25-45.
17. Geza Nagy, NEPRAJZI No. 3 (cited in Rice T., p. 39) Rice T—*The Scythians*, p. 39.
18. Griaznov M.P.—"The Pazirik Burial of Altai", AJ.A. Vol. XXXVII 1933 pp. 33-44.
    K. Moisova—'Soviet Bhumi', Delhi, 1953.
    A great wealth of material has come to light by the efforts of the Soviet archaeologists who have excavated the ancient Śaka sites of Tien Shan, Altai, Pamir and Pamir Fargana. The first expedition was led by Semirechye followed by S.P. Tolstoi. Later on it was carried by Rudenko & Griasnov in 1929 but had to be abandoned for some reason. It was resumed again in 1947. Its contents proved sensational. The finds are preserved in the Hermitage Museum of Leningrad.
19. King Ariapeithes of Southern Russia married a Greek woman from Istrus as well as a Scythian and also the daughter of the Tracian Chief Teres. Rice T. *The Scythians*, p. 44.
20. Tarn.—*Greeks in Bactria and India*. p. 299; Rice T., *The Scythians*, p. 43; Rahul—*Madhya Asia ka Itihas*, 64.
21. Bergmann F.G.—Les Scythes, p. 540.
22. *Ibid*; Rahul, *op. cited*, pp. 73-74.
23. The name Sarmat or Sarvamāt was given to them because of the high position of women in this particular section. Perhaps Greeks called them by this name.
24. Bergmann, *Les Scythes*, p. 544.

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25. Rahul *op. cited.*, p. 74.
26. Bergmann, *Les Scythes*, pp. 541-42; Rahul S., *Madhya Aśia Kā Itithāsa*, p. 74
27. Rahul, *Ibid.*
28. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 547.
29. It will be hardly possible to accept Rahul Sankrityayan's suggestion that the Khasas of Nepal and Kasas of Kashmir, Kaskars of Gilgit Chitral and the Khasgin in Kashgar are identical with or have descended from the ancient Śakas. The statement is not borne out by evidence. The problem of Yue Chi being identified with Śakas is also controversial. Rahul, *Madhya Aśia Kā Itihāsa*, pp. 74-75.
30. Rahul S., *op. cited.*, p. 64. He calls this region the Ādi Sakastan.
31. Tolstoi S.P.—"Central Asian Scythians in the light of the latest Archaeological Discoveries"—a paper read at the International Conference held at New Delhi in 1961, pp. 12-15.
    The men fully dressed with fighting equipment of armour and helmet along with their horses have been dug out at Pazirik. Both the horses and horsemen were perfectly preserved in their flesh and bones without embalming. The heap of ice and snow protected the bodies from dissolution for thousands of years.
    also Griaznov M.P. —"The Pazirik Burial of Altai" A.J.A. Vol. XXXVII, 1933, pp. 33-44.
32 Ellsworth Huntingdon—*The Pulse of Asia*, pp. IX, X. He is of the opinion that most of the historical invasions of the settled lands of Asia by nomads from the Eurasian steppes (including this and the other one (that we will discuss in the following pages) followed certain fixed laws and were due in the whole or in part to a regular climatic period, an alternation of humidity and aridity—which worked in 600 year cycles. The periodic increase in the fertility of the soil led to an increase in the population of the nomads the subsequent decrease in the feritility and consequently the shortage of the food supply forced the over-populated hungry nomads, whose grazing grounds no longer sufficed them, to invade settled lands.
    Toynbee on the other hand contends that nomadic exodus from their habitat is due to the external forces— one that pushes and the other which pulls. They are some time pushed off, the steppes by an increasing disiccation which puts their former habitat beyond even their powers of endurance; and again they are occasionally pulled out of the steppes by the suction of a social vaccum which has arisen in the domain of some adjacent sedentary society through the operation of historic process.
    A Study of History, Vol. III (2nd ed. 1955) pp. 395-452 Tarn, however, does not agree with the above mentioned theory of the nomadic mass migration. He takes them as the result of historical happenings though they may

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be coupled with such external forces as overpopulation or famine in the Śaka Steppes. *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 274-75.

33. Ellsworth Huntingdon, *The Pulse of Asia*, p. VIII; Rice T. *The Scythians*, p. 43.
34. Rice, *Ibid.*
35. Talbot Rice, *The Scythians*, p. 44.
36. In Armenia the ruined walls of some ancient fort still hold the Scythian's tree foil arrowheads embedded in their mortar as the testimony of the bitter fighting. In Armenia or ancient Orartu they settled themselves under their king Partatua and his son Madyes. Talbot Rice. *The Scythians*, pp. 44-45.
37. *Ibid.*
38. Gafurov B., "Kushan Civilization and the World Culture" Kushan Studies in U.S.S.R. UNESCO Conference on History Archaeology and Culture of Central Asia in the Kushan Period. Dushanbe 1968. In the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. the Śaka tribes spread to the high lands of Pamir and the countries of India. New excavations in Tajikistan, in ancient Bactria, showed that different groups of newly arrived livestock breeding tribes evidently of Iranian and Indo Iranian origin (according to Tulkhar and Araktu burials) settled here at the end of 2nd millennium or the early centuries of the 1st millennium B.C.
39. Rahul S., *Madhya Aśia kā Itihāsa*, p. 146.
40. Rahul S., *op. cited.*, p. 146.
41. Herodotus I 214. After the death of the King his Queen Tomuri assumed leadership of the army. Cyrus expressed his willingness to marry the widowed Queen. She pretended consent but when Cyrus advanced toward the Jaxartes Śaka hordes under the leadership of the Queen fell on him. Fierce battle ensued and Cyrus died fighting—Rahul S., *Madhya Aśia Kā Itihāsa*, p. 146.
42. Herodotus I 153.
43. Herodotus—VII. 9, 64; IX. 113; III. 93.
44. Rahul S., *op. cited.*, p.147.
45. Darius crossed Bosphorus over a bridge specially made for him by the ingenius Greek Engineer Mandrocles of famos. Next he went across Thrace and to Danube which he crossed through a bridge made of boats. He crossed Don and Volga and chased the Śakas for about 60 days but he could not get them face to face and therefore returned.
46. The policy of burning the fields and destroying the cities in the face of an advancing enemy and retreating in the interior which was adopted by the Russians during the campaigns of Napoleon and then again in World War II, was perhaps learnt from their Śaka predecessors. Talbot Rice, *The Scythians*, p. 49.

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47. Sen S., *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 93-98.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*
50. Sten Konow, Vol. II, Part I, p. XVIII; Herzfield E, MASI 1928. p. 34.
51. Sen S., *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 93-98.
52. Herodotus VII, 64.
53. *Ibid*;
54. Sten Konow-CII, Vol. II, Part I, p. XVIII; Rapson C.H.I., p. 565.
55. Rapson CHI. 565; Sastri N.K.—*A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 187.
56. Herodotus VII, 64.
57. *Ibid.*
58. Herodotus I, 53; VII. 64; IX; 113.
59. *Ibid*; VII. 9: III. 91, 93.
60. *Ibid.*
61. Anabasis III 8, 3, VII, 10, 5.
62. Strabo XI 8, 2.
63. Strabo XI 8, 2.
64. Pliny L.C.
65. Strabo XI 6, 2.
66. Ptolemy VI. 13.
67. Sten Konow, Vol. II, Part I, p. XVII, XVIII & XIX.
After a detailed examination of the accounts of the classical and the Chinese annals he is of the opinion that the country east of Sogdiana, the country of Jaxartes extending up to the lake Issykkul was the original home of Śakas;
Smith V.A.—"Sakas in Northern India" Z.D.M.G. pp. 409-10;
Sastri N.K.—*A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 188;
Budha Prakash, *India and the World*, p. 215 Vidya Bhushan "Vratya & Samkara theory of Caste" JASB, 1902, Part I, p. 154;
Chottapadhyaya S. *Sakas in India*, p. I; Thomas J.R.A.S. 1906, pp. 181-207.
On the basis of united testimony of the Greek and Latin writers, he maintains that Asiatic Scythians were at this period living in North of Parthia between the Caspian and Aral Sea north of Jaxartes where they fought aganist Alexander.
68. Thomas—"Sakastān, where dwelt the Sakas named by Darius and Herodotus" J.R.A.S, 1906, pp. 181-207. Rapson—*Cambridge History of India*, p. 564. Sastri N.S.—A Comprehensive History of India, Vol. II, p. 188, maintains that in the face of explicit description of Herodotus it seems likely that the two tribes of Saka Tigrakhauda, and Saka Haumvarka mentioned in the inscription of Darius lived in the contiguous region, if not in the same province which appears to be Dragiana, Seistan region.

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Jaiswal, K.P, "Problem of Saka-Sātavāhana"; Vol. XVI., 1930, p. 227.
Bagchi, P.C, "The Role of Central Asian Hordes" Presidential Address in the history of the India—Indian History Congress, Aligarh, 1943.
Sten Konow, (Vol. II, Part 1, pp. XVII-XIX) and Smith A.V. (Z.D.M.G. 1902, p. 410) vehemently oppose the idea of Śakas living in Śeistan in the time of Darius

69. *Cambridge History of India*, p. 564.
70. Thomas "Sakasthan J.R.A.S 1906 pp. 181-207, Sten Konow, CII, Vol. II, Part I, pp. XVII & XXX; Jaiswal, J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVI, 1930; *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, pp. 120-21; Bimal Charan Deb, "Sakad-vipa" A.B.O.R.S., Vol XXXVI, 1955, pp. 351-365; Rahul, *Madhya Aśia Kā Itihās*, p. 64.
71. Of Stalhmoi Parthikoi 18. He wrote a route of the Parthian Empire which was edited by Max Muller in *Geographica Graeci Minores*.
72. *Cambridge History of India*, p. 567.
73. Sten Konow, CII Vol. II Part I, p. XXXI, *Ep. Ind.* IX, p. 139; Fleet, "A note on one of the inscriptions on the Mathura Lion Capital"; J.R.A.S., 1904, pp. 703, 709.
74. Rawlinson G., *Parthia* 117-18; Smith, V.Z. DMG. 1907.
75. Majumdar R.C. (ed) *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, p. 121.
76. *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, p. 121. Rapson—C.H.I. p. 567;
Sten Konow, CII, p. XXVI; Jaiswal K.P., "The Problem of Saka Sātavāhana History, J.B.O.R.S. 1930, p. 228.
The principal Chinese Texts which supply us with relevant information about the tribal wanderings are according to the chronological sequence-Shi-ki (ch 123) of Ssu-Ma Chien (C 90 B.C.). This contains the report of the Chinese ambassador Chang-Kien (126 B.C.) who was sent to the West in search of prospective allies for the Chinese Emperor against the same Hiung-Nu.
Other is Ts'ien-Han-Shu of Pan-ku (died 92 A.D.) which contains the annals of early Han dynasty (26 B.C. 24 A.D.) and Hau-Han-Shu of Fan-ye which records the annals of later Han Dynasty (25 A.D.—220 A.D.)
78. The exact meaning of Sai-Wang in the Chinese annals is not clear. Wang perhaps means 'king'. Sten Konow interprets the word equivalent to the Śaka term Muruṇda which occurs in Brāmhi and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the early centuries of Christian era in the sense of Lord or King. The Indian equivalent to the word is *Svāmi*, which was suffixed to the names of Indian Śaka chiefs of Western India. *Konow Sten*, C.I.I. Vol., II, Part I, p. XX.
Chattopadhyaya S. accepts this suggestion and is of the opinion that two distinct bands of Śakas entered India—Sai—Wang or the Muruṇdas from the

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north and Śakas of the eastern Iran who came through Bolan and Mulla passes. These Muruṇda kings became powerful after the Kushāṇas and before the Guptas and held sway over a comparatively large a territory extending from Kānyakubja to Pātaliputra, *Sakas in India*, pp. 8-13.

But Bagchi thinks that the Muruṇdas were distinct from the Śakas. According to him Muruṇdas were a Tuṣāra tribe like the Kushāṇas whom they followed in India. He also thinks that the Muruṇdas filled the gap in the political history of India from the downfall of Imperial Kushāṇas to the rise of the Guptas. "The Role of Central Asian Hordes in the history of India", pp. 39 to 41.

79. *Kipin* is a geographical entity, the identification of which is a controversial question. *Levi*, *Chavannes*, *Aurel Stein* (*Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, p. 53) and Smith (*Early History of India*, p. 251) take it to be the region of Kashmir, Bagchi agrees with this view. (*op. cited*, pp. 34-35) Rapson (CHI p. 567) and Sten Konow (CII Vol. II, part I, p. XXIII) identify it with Kafiristan that is modern Kapi-śā. Also Sastri K.I.N.—*Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 190.

Tarn (*GBI* p. 469) is of the opinion that Kipin stands for Kabul but it has been objected to on the ground that in Han period Kabul was known by the Chinese as Kao-Fu.

The Chinese writer Pan-Ku personally meant Kipin to denote the Śaka realm in India. In later times Kipin or Chi pin was more generally used for the districts south of the Hindukush in possession of the Scythians. Von Lohiuzen do Leeun, *The Scythian Period of India*, p. 328.

80. According to Tarn, the Śaka conquest of Tahia is a myth. It was the work of Yueh-Chi. Śakas went to Parthia and conquered Merv province of Parthian Empire in the north. *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 188.

81. It appears that during the reign of Phraates II and Artabanus I Śakas settled in Seistan Rawlinson G., *Parthia*, pp. 113-14.

To begin with the relations between the Śakas and Parthian kings were friendly so much so that Phraates II called Scythian auxiliaries in his wars against the Seleucid Kings of Syria. But when Phraates tried to withhold their wages they turned against him and killed him on the battle field. His successor, Artabanus I tried to avenge his death but the Śakas devastated Parthia, killed Artabanus and returned to their country. Rahul S., *Madhya Aśia Kā Itihāsa*, p. 189; Rawlinson, *Parthia*, p. 114.

82. Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, p. 567.

83. Sten Konow. CII, Vol. II, Part I, p. XXVI; Von Lohuizen de Leeuw J.E.—*The Scythian Period of Indian History*, p. 325; Majumbar R.C. (ed) *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, p. 121-22.

84. Schoff H. Wilfeed. *Periplus of the Erythrean*, p. 838, *Schoff, Parthian Stations*, p. 9.

85. VII. 1.55, 65; Mc'Crindle, *Ancient India*, p. 136.

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86. V. 1088, cited by Konow in CII, Vol. II, part I, p. XXVI.
87. Bhismaparva VI, 12, 33.
88. Vidya Bhushan—"Vratya and Śanskāra theory of Caste" J.R.A.S 1902, Part I p. 154.
89. Rai Chaudhri "Studies in Indian Antiquity", p. 68.
90. Budh Prakash, *India and the World*, p. 215.
91. Bagchi, "The Role of Central Hordes in the History of Asia", Presidential, Address, Indian History Congress, Aligarh, 1943, p. 564.
92. Rapson, *Cambridge History of India* p. 564.
93. Jacobi H, "Das Kalkacharya Kathanak" ZDMG Vol. 134 1880 pp. 262-67; Bahu Daji—"The Inroads of the Scythian into India and the Story of Kalkacharya," JBBARS Vol IX 1867-1870 pp. 139-146.
94. It has been generally identified with Seistan, Jaiswal "Problem of Saka Sātavāhana—History" JBORS Vol. XVI p.
95. Vikramaditya was the son of Gardabhillā. Pandey, Raj Bali, *Vikramaditya of Ujjain*, p. 49.
96. Sastri K.N.A. *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 190, Konow Sten, CII, Vol. II, part I, p. XXVIII.
97. Konow, *ibid* pp. 7.22, Plate I. 4, Plate I, 5. Plate II Plate III, IV, V, VI; Cunnigham, *A.S.I.V*, p. 62 & Plate XVI No. 5; Bannerji R.D., "The Kharosthi Alphapet" J.R.A.S. 1920 P. 205.
98. According to Stenkonow, Hiung-Nu drove away the Yueh-Chi in 176 B.C. (CII p. XXV) but Tarn puts this event in 165 B.C. (*Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 145). Smith maintains that the expulsion of Saiwang took place in 160 B.C. "The Kushan or Indo Scythian Period of Indian History, B.C. 165 to A.D. 320." J.R.A.S. 1903 pp, 1-57. Sten Konow agress with this view (CII, p. XXV). But McGovern has pointed out that Chinese record do not mention any date for the event but simply state that it occured sometimes during Chi-Yu's reign which extended for C 176-161 B.C. *The Early Empires of Central Asia* p. 475.
99. Sastri K.N.—*A Comprehensive History of India* Vol. II p. 190; Narain A.K.—*Indo-Greeks*, 136.
Both identify Kipin with Swat Valley and the adjoining regions.
As a matter of fact, in the different periods of Chinese History the term Kipin or Chipin denoted different regions though all these regions were contiguous to each other. Kipin denoted Gandhara in Han period, Kashmir in the time of Six dynasties & Kapisā in the Tang period (135-136) Narain A.K, *Indo-Greeks*, p. 136, 37,
100. *Rapson-Cambridge History of India* p. 564, *Konow Sten-CII* Vol. II part I p. XXXI; *Cunnigham. Coins of Indo Scythians* part II p. 2; Marshal, Taxila Vol. I p. 45; *Codrington K. de "A Geographical Introduction to the history of*

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Central Asia, "The Geographical Journal Vol. CIV London July August 1944 pp. 27-40 and Sept-Oct 1944 pp. 73-91 Tarn. *Greeks in Bactria Bactria & India* p. 320.

101. Smith V.A., "Sakas in Northern India" Z.DMG 1907 pp. 414-15; Gardner Percy "The Course of Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India "Proceedings of Britiish Academy London 1886 p. 17.
102. Sten, Konow, CII Vol. II part I pp. XXVIII & XXXI; Thomas "Thc Date of Kanishka" J.R.A.S. 1913 p. 634; *Herzfield. Sakastana* p. 20; C.H.I, p. 563.
103. *Cambridge History of India* p. 507.
104. *Aurel Stein, On the Central Asian Tracts* p. 20.
105. Narain A.K., *Indo-Greeks*, p. 137; Smith, "Sakas in North India" ZDMG 1907 pp. 414. 15. Chattopadhya, *Sakas in India*, p. 2.
106. Bagchi P.C., "The Role of the Central Asian Hordes in the History of India" pp. 33, 34. Bannerji and Sastri, "Sakas and Kushanas in the 1st and 2nd centuries" IHQ 13; Sastri, A Comprehensive History of India Vol. II p. 192; Chattopadhyaya, *Sakas in India*, pp. 1, 7; Narain, *Indo Greeks*, p. 135; Aureli Stein, *Ancient Khotan* 1907 pp. 1-46.
107. This route was mostly followed by the travellers and missionaries. Fahien took this route,
108. Puri B.N., *India tn the time of Patanjli*, p. 31.
109. Puri *Ibid*;
110. Kishkindhā Kānd 43, 12-14 & Balkanda 54-21; 53-3.
111. Udyogparva 4,15; Sabhāparva 48,15; 47,16.
112. Sabha parva 29. 15.
113. Udyogparva 158. 26; Anuśāsanparva 68. 21.
114. XIII 763. 64; 775,83.
115. X, 43, 44.
116. 30, 316.
117. Pargitar E.F. *Dynasties of the Kali Age* pp. 44-46.
118. Jaiswal K.P. J.B.O.R.S. 16. 1930 pp. 21-26.
119. Jaiswal "The Problems of Śaka Satavahana History" JBORS Vol. 16. 1930, p. 87.
120. Bagchi "The Role of Central Indian Hoardes in Indian History". According to him Sakas were known in India even before the Greek rule that is way Kalak went to Sakas for help beyond the country instead of going to the Greeks p. 31.
121. Smith V.A.—"Indo Parthian Dynasties about 120 B.C. to 100 A.D. Z.D.M.G. Vol. 60, 1906 pp. 49-72 and *Catalogue of the Coins in Indian Museum* (Calcutta). Part I. He is of the opinion that Maues and his successors were Parthians though in his 'Sakas in Northern India,' in ZDMG 1907 pp. 420-21 he clearly maintains that Sakas did invade Punjab and ruled there till the advent

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of Yueh-Chi.

122. Rapson C.H.I. pp. 567-68; *Indian Coins*, p. 8; Thomas F,W. Sakastan J.R.A.S 1906 pp. 208; Sten Konow accepts the Scythian origin of Maues but describes the Azes group as Parthian. He also identifies Vonones with Vonones I of the Imperial Parthian dynasty of 10 B.C. J.I.H. p. 215; CII. Vol. II *V*art I pp. XL and XLIII).
123. Numismatic Chronicle 1946; Rapson, *Indian Conis*, pp. 9-12
124. Rapson CHI p. 568; Thomas Sakastan J.R.A.S. 1906.
125. His coins are found mostly in Swat Valley Gandhāra and some in Punjab. The Coins of Meues are copied from both the Yavana houses, Eakratides and Euthydemus.
126. Maues is known from Taxila copper plater plate inscription of the year 78 which mentions mahārāja Moga and also Maira salt Range inscription of the year 58 which mentions Moasa CII p. XXXII.
127. *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol II p. 126. Konow Sten CII p. XXXII, Ray Chaudhuri *Political History of Ancient India* p. 437.
128. Thomas "Sakastan" JRAS 1906; Majumdar R.C. (ed) *History and Culture of the Indian People* Vol. II p. 123.
129. Majumdar *ibid*; Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, p. 574.
130. Smith V.A.—"The Indo-Parthian Dynasties, 120 B.C. to 100 A.D." Z.D.M.G. pp. 49-72 OJHA, *The History of Foreign Rule in Ancient India*, pp. 88-90.
131. Sircar D.C. "*History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II p. 127. admits the possibility of Azes I as being the son-in-law of Maues. Konow Sten-J.I.H. XII 1933 p. 24 is of the opinion that Azes was Pahlava. Maues was Saka ruler. The successors of Azes I were all Pahalavas. Tarn W.W.—Azes was the son of Spalarises and both were Saka kings. *Greek in Bactria & India* pp. 346-47.
132. The fact that Gondophares succeeded Azes II is attested by coins. Apsavarma son of Indra-Varma, was a strategos of Azes II and also of Gondophars. His nephew Sasa was also strategos of Gondophares.
133. Taxila Copper Plate Inscription of Patika son of Laika Kusaluka, Konow-CII Part I Vol. II p. 93.
134. Bīmran Silver inscription, Konow, CII Vol. II, Part I, p. 18f.
135. Mathurā Lion capital Inscription of Kshatrapa Sodāsa son of Mahakshtrapa Rajula of the year 72. Konow, CII, Vol. II, Part I, p. 47F; Mukherjee, B.N.—Mathurā and Its Society The—Śaka Pahalava Phase, pp. 2-5.
136. Supra, Chapter III, pp. 16-21.
137. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 694: Bachhoffer, "Śakas and Greeks in India." JAOS 61, pp. 226-28; Saraswati A.K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 70.
138. Saraswati, above cited p. 70-75; Ingholt Harold, *Gandhāra Art in Pakistan*, p. 23, Bachhoffer, JAOS 61, pp. 227-28.

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139. Bachhoffer, *ibid*; Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 70; Ingholt, *op. cit.* p 23.
140. Bachhoffer *ibid*; Saraswati *ibid.*
141. Marshall; *Taxila* ,Vol. II p. 696, Coomarswami, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 51: Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculptur*, p. 74; Ingnolt, *Gandhara Art in Pakistan*, p. 22; Bachhoffer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. p. 99.
142. Coomarswami' *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 51; Saraswati. *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 14.
143. Saraswati, *ibid.*
144. *Ibid*, Coomarswami above cit 51, Ingholt, *Gandhara Art in Pakistan*, p. 22.
145. Saraswati above cited, p. 74.
146. Saraswati above cited, p. 74; Ingholt *op. cited*, p. 23.
147. Saraswati. *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 75. Ingholt; *Gandhara Art in Pakistan*, p. 51.
148. Saraswati, *ibid*; Ingholt, *ibid* p. 30; Coomarswami, *History of Indian and Indonesion Art*, p. 55.
149. Saraswati, *op. cited*, Ingnolt, *op. cited*; Coomarswami. *op. cited.*
150. Marshall, *Taxila*, pp. 118, 450.
151. Marshall, *Taxila*, pp. 138-198.
152. *Ibid*, p. 201
153. Cunnigham,*Coins of Indo Scythians.*
154. Thomas "*The Date of Kanishka*" JRAS 1913, p. 1016; *Tarn, Greek in Bactria and India*, pp. 63 & 305.
155. Tarn, *ibid.*
156. Sastri, *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 632.
157. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 404-5.
158. Junāgarh Inscription 150-51, A.D., *Epigraphica Indica*, VIII, p. 44.
159. Keith, *History of Sanskrit literature*, p. 405; Upadhyay, *Feeders of Indian Culture*, p. 67; Sircar in *The History and Culture of Indian People*, Vol. II, p. 185, Sastri (ed) *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 632.
160. Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, p. 82.
161. *Ibid.*
162. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 69-72.
163. Levi S, on the basis of the use of certain words like '*Svamin*'. '*bhadramukha*', '*rāṣtrīva*', '*āryaputra*' and '*sugrihitanaṁan*', etc. in the inscription of Śaka Kshatrapas and also in the '*Natya Śāstra*' or Bharata, he thinks that Bharata borrowed these words from Śaka inscriptions and as such the origin of Sanskrit drama is to be attributed to the Śakas. J.A. 1902, pp. 95-125; Konow also agrees with this view with the modification that its home was not Ujjayanī but Mathurā because the drama of Aśvaghoṣa and Bhāṣa ignore Mahārāstri and the normal prose tongue in these works was Sūraseni. (Indi-

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sche Drama), p. 49. quoted in '*Sanskrit Drama*' of A.B. Keith.

164. Supra, Chapter III, p. 71.
165. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 437-440.
166. Levi is of the opinion, that Śakara represent a picture of Śaka, a type of Scythian prince ruling for nearly four centuries in Western India, J.A. 1902, pp. 95-125.
167. Sastri K.N., *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 638. It has been suggested that Bhāṣa was probably Vaisṇava and in introducing this abnormal character Śakara author showed his contempt for Śakas, (Chattopadhyaya —*Sakas in India*, p. 61), who were hostile to the religion of Vishṇu and this was one of the reason of their being in conflict with Guptas who were staunch *Vaiśṇavas* (Rai Chaudhri—*Early History of Vaishnava*, Sect, p. 4).
168. Supra Chapter VI, pp. 51-52.
169. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*, p. 242. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 292. Banerjee G.N., *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 189.
170. Konow Sten, CII. Vol. II, Part I, p. XXVI.
171. Chattopadhyaya S., *Sakas in India*, p. 80.
172. It has been suggested that the name Varāhmihir shows some Śaka Parthian influence therefore he could have been a Śaka himself. Bhandarker D.R. *Foreign Elements in Hindu Population*, p. 27.
173. Singhal & D.P., *Indiathe World Civilization*, p. 82; Thapar Romila; *A History of India*, Vol. I, p. 108.
174. Majumdar R.C., *The Hindu Colonies and the Culture of Far East*, pp. 8-9.
175. *Ibid*; Moti Chandra, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*, p. 130.
176. The important works describing these journey are Brihadkathā Śloka Samgraha by Buddhasvāmi, Brihadkathā of Guṇādhyaya, Divyāvadāna and Mahāniddesa (Sylvain Levi Etude Asiatique, Vol. II, Paris 1925, pp. 1-55).
177. Gonda J., "The Presence of Hinduism in Indonesia" ICWTC, p. 536, Majumdar, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, p. 656.
178. Epigraphica Indica, VIII, p. 44.
179. Chattopadhya, *Śakas in India*, p. 36.
180. Motichandra, *Trade and Trade routes in Ancient India*, pp. 98-99; De Silva, "The spice and Silk Road" ICWTC, pp. 299-305;
181. Penti Aalto, "On the role of Central Asia in the spread of Indian Cultural Influence", ICWTC, pp. 249-260; Motichandra *op. cited.*, De Silva, *op. cited.*,
182. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 10; Sirkar, *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, pp. 601-2.
183. Manu-Smṛiti, VIII, 41; Yajnava-lka II, 186, 188.
184. Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 82.
185. Infra Chapt. VI, pp. 34-37.
186. Infra, This topic has been discussed in detail in Chap. VI, pp. 31-40.

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187. Konow Sten-CII, Vol. II, Part I, Taxila Copper plate ins. of Patika XIII, Pl Vp. 93, Mathura Lion Capital Ins. XVIII, pl X. p. 50-51.
188. Epigraphica Indica I, pp. 294-392; Ep. Ind. II, pp. 199-201.
189. Lüders-List of Bramhi Inscriptions, No. 52(a), No. 63 & 85.
190. Chattopadhyaya S., *Śakas in India*, p. 96. Even to this day in Rajputana Maga or Saka Brahmanas are employed as priests in Jain temples.
191. Banerjee J. N. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 118-121; *Catalogue of the coins in the Punjab Museum (White Head)* Vol. I, p. 101. pl. 25; *Catalogue of the coins of British Museum* (Gardener) p. l. XI, fig: pl. XVI, fig 9.
192. M.B.H. VI. 21, 28; Pujyate Yatra Sankarah." & VI 12, 26.
193. Nasik ins. numbers 10 & 14, gifts to Brahmans and No. 12 (Epigraphica Indica Vol. VIII, p. 82. Kanheri Ins No. 1099. (Lünders list) both Brahmans and Buddhists. It has been suggested that perhaps the gifts of Rṣabhdatta were made to Maga Brahmans. Chattopadhyaya S., *Śakas in India*, p. 96.
194. Bhandarkar R.G., *Vaishnavism, Saivism and other Minor Religious Sects*: p. 218; Jairazbhoy .*Foreign Influence in Ancient India*, p. 153; Srivastava, V.C., *Sun worship in Ancient India*, p. 241; J.N. Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 430.
195. Banerjee D.H.I. pp. 428-430.
196. Rig Veda-I, 175, 4; V, 29, 10; Satpath Br. 4.1.10.
197. Srivastava, *Sun Worship in Ancient. India*, p. 257;
198. Srivastava V.C., *op. cited.*, p. 257.
199. Magas for the first time came to India in the wake of the Persian invasion of 5 & 6th. cent. B.C. Srivastava V.C., "Advent of Magas or Iranian Priests in India", Seminar on Foreigners in Ancient India, Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, pp. 73-91; But their most potent wave came with Śakas. Because of their long association with Śakas as their priests they came to be known as Maga Brahamanas in Indian Literature who were supposed to be the special priests of Sun temples. Bhandarkar V.S.M.R.S. 218.
200. Bhandarkar VSMRS 221; Srivastava, *Sun Worship in Ancient India*, 256.
201. Bhaviṣya, p. 139, Sāmba, p. 3,23,26; Bramha, p. 20.
202. There is a tradition in India that the Sun God cures leprosy and other skin diseases. Sāmba Purāṇa, Ch. 24.9.11.
203. Sāmba, p. 26, 43, Hazra, *Studies in the Uppuranas*, Vol. I, pp. 16, 32-93; Pargiter, *Purana Text of Dynasties, of Kali* XII, XVII.
204. MBH VI, 11, 36, 38; VII 12, 13.
205. Vishṇu Purāṇa, II, 4, 69, 70.
206. These four castes are Magas, Masakas, Manasas, Mandagas. Among them Magas were Brahmins. Masakas or Magadha were Kshatriyas, Manasas Vaishyas and Mandagas were śūrdas (Vishṇu Purāṇa II, 4. 69).

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207. Brihat Saṁhitā, Chapt. 60, 19.
208. *Ibid.*, 58, 47, 48.
209. Beal, *Buddhist Records of Western Countries.* Vol. II, p. 274.
210. Alberuni, Al Edrist, Abu-I shakal I shlakhri etc. refer to it. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. I, p. 18-73. This temple existed till 17th cent when finally destroyed by Aurangzeb.
211. Sachau, Edward (tr) *Alberuni's India.* Vol. I, p. 16 & p. 116.
212. Sāmba, p. I, 38.
213. Cunnigham A., *The Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 194-199.
214. Hazra, *Puranic Studies*, Vol. I, p. 39.
215. Altekar A.S., *Rastrakutas and their times*, p. 102. Bhandarkar D.R., EP Ind, Vol. II, p. 30, identifies it with Mahakāla temple of Ujjain.
216. Bramha, p. 20-32.
217. Hazra, *Puranic Studies*, Vol. I, 106. It seems that this place came to be known as Koṇārka because of its position in North Eastern India (Koṇa) with respect to Puri.
218. Hazra, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 62, suggests that the present Sāmba Purāṇa was composed in Orissa; The recasting of Sāmba Purāṇa and its additional chapters show the extension of the Sun Cult in East India. Srivastava V.C., *Sun Worship in Ancient India*, p. 270.
219. Sāmba, p. 29.2 sun was worshipped in early times in the form of circle as it stood in the sky. "Yathaitan mandalam vyommi sthiyate savitus tada."
220. Banerjee J.N. "Surya Aditya and Navagrahas," J.I.S.O.A. XVI, 1948. pp. 51-51.
221. *Ibid*, Svastika represents the Solar notion.
222. Lotus represents the fructifying aspect of the sun, Banerjee, D.H.I. p. 109,
223. This symbol stands for the sun in his capacity as the maker of six seasons. Banerjee "Surya, Āditya and Navagrahas", J.I.S.O.A. XVI 1948, pp. 51-53; also Vishṇu Purāṇa II 84.
224. It symbolises sun and moon taken together, disc for the sun and the crescent stands for the moon. Banerjee, *op. cited.*, JISOA, pp. 53-54.
225. Banerjee, "The Representation of Sun in Brahmanical Art" I.A. 1925, p. 162; D.H.I., pp. 137-140.
226. Srivastava V.C., *Sun Worship in Ancient India*, p. 273.
227. Sāmba, p. 29, 2. "napura pratimā hy āsit pujyate mandale ravih."
228. Coomaraswami, A.K., *History of the Indian and Indonesian* Art, p. 33, fig. 61.
229. *Ibid.*, p. 25, fig. 24.
230. Banerjee J.N., DHI, p. 433, pl. XXIX, fig. 1.
231. Banerjee J.N. "Surya Ādityā and Navagrahas" JISOA XVI, p. 54.
232. Cunningham, ASIAR III, p. 97. He thinks that these Sun images resembles the Greek representation of Helios, the Sungod; but according to Banerjee

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D.H.I., p. 432, they are in conformity with the Vedic tradition of the sun.

233. Banerjee D.H.I. 433, Srivastava V.C. *Sun Worship in Ancient India*, p. 297.
234. Banerjee J.N., D.H.I. pl. XXXVIII, fig. 3.
235. Agrawala V.S., *A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, J.U.P.H.S. 1949, Vol. XXII, pp. 167-168.
236. Coomarswami A.K., *History of the Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 66.
237. *Ibid.*, Srivastava V.C., *Sun Worship in Ancient India*, p. 250.
238. Motichandra, "Bhārtīya Veśabhuṣā" Prayag Samiti 2007, p. 210.
239. Bachhoffer, "On Greeks and Śakas in India" JAOS, Vol. 61 (1941), p. 247, Rahul Sankrityāyan, *Madhya Aśia Kā Vtihāsa*, p. 68.
140. Dhavlikar, "Foreigners in the Ajanta Paintings" Seminar on Foreigners in Ancient India, Calcutta 1969, p. 22.
241. *Ibid.*
242. Upadhyaya, *Feeders of Indian Culture*, p. 67. p. 235-242. Aryan K.C, Cultural Heritage of Punjab (3000 B.C. to 1947 A.D.) 1983.
243. Rahul S., *Madhya Aśia Kā Itihāsa*, p. 68.
244. T. Rice, *The Scythians*, p. 41.
245. Rahul Sainkrityayan, *op. cited.*, Upadhyaya, *op. cited.*, p. 68.
246. T. Rice, *The Scythians*, p. 41; Rahul Sankrityayan, *op. cited.*, p. 68.
247. Fleet "The use of the Era of B.C. 58" J.R.A.S. 1907, p. 1014. He believed that this era was started by Maues.
248. This era was believed to have started by Azes I, Marshall, "Patika Copper plate, king Moga and the chronology of the local Satraps of Mathura' J.R.A.S, 1914, p. 976.
Deb H.K. "Note on a Newly Discovered Taxila Inscription", IHQ. 1933, p. 141.
249. Marshall, "Silver Scroll Inscription of the year 136", J.R.A.S. 1914; Deb *op. cited.*,
250. The month is Panemos. Konow Sten C.I.I., Vol. II, part I, p. 29. Taxila Copper Plate of Patika.
251. Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, p. 570.
252. De Leeuw, J.E. Von Lohuizen, *The Scythian Period*, p. 329.
253. Sircar D.C., *History & Culture of Indian People*, Vol. II, (Ed. Majumdar R.C.) p. 125.
254. *Ibid.*,
255. Pandey R.B., *Vikramāditya of Ujiayanī*, p. 2.
256. Sircar D.C., *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III, p. 126.
257. *Ibid.*,
258. *Ibid.*,
259. Pandey R.B., *Vikramāditya of Ujjyani*, p. 4. The Dhaulpur inscriptions of Chand Mahasena is dated in the Vikrama Kala (era) 898; The Bijapur ins-

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criptions of Rastrakūta Vidaghrāja is date in Vikrama Kāla 973; A Bodgaya inscription is dated in Vikram Samvat Sara 1005 and many others. *Ep. Indica Vol. XI, X & XXIII.*

260. Sten Konow CII, Vol. II, part I XLIV; Banerjee "The Kharoṣhthi Alphabet" J.R.A.S. 1920, p. 211.
Marshall J.H. 'Date of Kanishka, p. 916, J.R.A.S. 1914: Sastri, *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 208.
Deb H.K. however, disagrees with this view and has tried to link the words Aja & Aya occurring in the inscription not with Azes but with the Sanskrit word ādya and concludes that this means the first half of the lunar month and not the name of Azes.
261. Fleet J.F., 'The use of the Era of B.C. 58' J.R.A.S. 1907, pp. 169-171.
262. The date of Kanishka is discussed in the Chapter V.
263. De Leeuw. The Scythian Period, p. 332.
264. *Ibid.*,
An example of this kind can be found in the Mohammaden era, Hijri which was started to commemorate the year when the prophet was humiliated and was forced to abandon. Mecca.
265. Bhandarkar D.R. "Deccan of the Sātvāhana period" I.A. Vol. 47, 1918, p. 70.
266. Ep. India, Vol. XVIII, p. 199.
267. Chattopadhyaya S., *Sakas in India*, p. 30.
268. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
269. Sastri K.A. Nilkantha, "The later Sātavāhanas and Śakas" J.R.A.S. 1926, p. 661; Sten Konow. CII, Vol. II, part I, pp. LXVII & VIII.
270. Rapson, C.H.I., pp. 582-83; Tarn, W.W., p. 352; De Leew, *The Scythians* p. 64; Rai Chaudhri, *Political History of India*, pp. 464, Thomas F.W. "The Date of Kanishka" J.A.R.A.S. 1913 Sircar, *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol II, pp. 144-46.

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CHAPTER V

Kushanas—The Age of Syncretism

The Name Kushāṇa

The Kushāṇa is probably a dynastic[1] name. It is regularly found on coins as a suffix of the individual kings name e.g. *Shaonano-shao-Kaneshki-Koshano* (king of the kings Kanishka the Kushāṇa); it occurs on the inscriptions as *Gushana Vaṁśa Sāṁvardhka*[2] (a person who strengthens the name of Kushāṇas) and in a Brāhmī inscription near Mathurā it is Kushāṇputra[3] (presumably a scion of the Kushāṇa family). Originally it was the name of either a family or a tribe[4] but later on when the semi-nomads were unified under the rule of one single chieftain, who is described in the Chinese sources as Kuei-Shuang-Wang—ruler of the Kuei-Shuang, this name became a national designation. In the Buddhist text (Kalpanamanditikā) of Kumārlāta, King Kaniśhka is stated to be of the family of the Kui-Sha evidently Kusha.[5] Moreover in the trilingual inscription of Shapur I (c 260 AD) the word Kusankhśathr[6] is used to describe the Kushāṇa empire.

Who were Kushāṇas?

The problem of the nationality of Kushāṇas is fraught with controversy. The Turki origin form Kujula used for the first Kushāṇa king was supposed to be identical with the Turkish word either Gujula[7] meaning strong or gujlu[8] meaning beautiful, thus indicating a Turkish origin for Kushāṇas. Similarly the title Yavagu used for Kujula Kadphises in the inscriptions and the coin legends and the corresponding Chinese title hi-hou has been identified with Turki Jabgu.[9] Further in the Rājtaraṅgiṇi, Kanishka and the members of his dynasty are described as Turushkas[10] i.e. Turks. In the Abhidhānchintāmaṇi the Turks are said to be using the royal

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title[11] Sākhi identical with Shāhi, the title used by Kanishka and his successors in Brāhmi inscriptions. Further the physical features of Kanishka as depicted on his coins, pointed cranium, the salient checkbones, the large long and heavy nose, the thick beard, have taken as characteristically been Turk, and so also his dress of loose coat, huge boots as the common dress of Turkistan.[12] But the closer scrutiny shows that the features described above are characteristic of the so-called Homoalpines, who are said to be represented in the population of Chinese Turkistan.[13] The history and ethnology of this region and its people conclusively shows that the basis of the civilization here was Iranian[14] and the Turki element was introduced at a comparatively later date.[15] The Turki tribe inhabited the country which was once ruled by the Kushāṇas. Therefore they were perhaps described as Turks by later writers like Kalhaṇa and Hemchandra. Similarly the Turki origin of the title *Yavagu* and *Kujula* has not been found convincing.[16] This seems originally an Iranian word which was later on adopted by others. The Kushāṇas perhaps took it from the Śakas and is more likely to be equated with the *Zauva* used by Śaka Patika.[17] In view of above facts the Turki origin theory of the Kushāṇas does not seem reliable.

Mongolion Origin

Some modern historians are of the opinion that racially the Kushāṇas were of Mongolian extraction.[18] Though it is true that the Central Asian nomadic hordes were frequently of mixed racial composition but the coin images and portrait carvings, the features of Indo-Scythians are primarily Caucasoid,[19] narrow heads, prominent noses, abundant and heavy hair, eyes without Mongolian epicanthic fold and without high cheekbones, Chinese sources indicate that among the Yueh-Chih there were even people of red hair and blue eyes.[20]

Śaka-Iranian Origin

A majority of scholars agree that the Kushāṇas were of Śaka Iranian origin.[121] Several terms and designations used by the Kus-

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hāṇas find their explanation in Iranian language which was once spoken and used in literature in parts of Chinese Turkistan and only in it.[20] It has been labelled under various names like North Aryan,[23] East Iranian,[24] Khotani[25] but this is undoubtedly the[26] Śaka language, The Sakish elements in the Kushāṇa coins and inscriptions is brought out by Sten Konow[27] as for example designation like *Yavagu*, *Kujula*, *Erthuna*, *Muroḍa* and *Marjhaka* and the coin legends of Kanishka and his successors written in pure Khotanese Śaka though in Greek letters Shaunanu Shau Kaneski Kushanu. "Shan" is a well known Śaka word used for King where it is Shshau[28] in several documents of the 8th Cent A.D. It has the same base as Shāhi or Śhāh.[29] The fact, borne out of this evidence, seems to be that the Kushāṇas were Iranians,[30] at least in language and their affinity with the Śakas shows that they belonged either to a Śaka clan or a family.[31]

Kushāṇas in the Chinese Sources

The Kushāṇas are mentioned in the Chinese sources as Kuei-Shuang and in connection with Yueh-Chih and Tahia,[32] which is mostly identified as the local people of Bactria. In about 160 B.C. the Yueh-Chih defeated and drove away Sai-Wang from their original homeland of Jaxartes region and themselves settled down there.[33] But soon afterwards, a section of Yueh-Chih was subjugated by Wu-Sun, another nomadic horde and the old enemy of Yueh-Chih, while the rest moved away West ward and conquered Tahia. When the Chinese ambassador Chang Kien,[34] came to Bactria (C 126 B.C.) in his mission to find prospective allies for the Chinese Emperor against Hiung-nu, he found Yueh-Chih powerful and dominant in the rich and fertile country, north of Oxus with their capital at Kian-Shi. The Tahia, whose capital was Lan-Shi (modern Badak-shan) seem to have been subject to their rule. The accounts of T'sien-Han-Shu of Pan Ku or the annals of the first Han Dynasty confirm the report of Chang K'ien about Yueh-Chih and add that there were five principalities in Tahia each under a *hi hou* which all depended on the Yueh-Chih. These principalities were *Hiu mi*, with the capital Ho-mo, *Shuang-mi*, with the capital at Hu-tsao, *Hi-tun* with the capital

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Po-mao and *Kao fu* with the capital of the same name. Further information is given in (A.D. 25-125) Hou-Han Shu-but the situation had somewhat changed by then. The capital of Yueh-Chih is now Lan-Shi and it appears that the Yueh-Chih at this time represented the whole of Tahia empire.[35] Besides this change of capitals there is also a little discrepancy in the two accounts about the position of Yueh-Chih and their relation with Kuie-Shuang. The *Hou-Han-Shu*, instead of mentioning five principalities as already existing in Tahia and dependent on the Yueh-Chih after conquering Ta-hia empire divided it between five hi-hou and instead of *Kao-fu* (which Fan-ye thinks a mistake of Pan-ku) gives *Tu-mi* as the name of the fifth principality. It further informs us that about hundred years after setting up the principalities of Tahia, the Kuei-Shuang prince Kiu-tsiu-kio attacked and subjugated the remaining four principalities and styled himself king of the kingdom called by the same name, Kuei-Shuang.

This discrepancy of the description in the Chinese sources has posed a problem regarding the position of Kuei-Shuang in relation to Yueh-Chih. Now, the question is whether Kuei-Shuang were one of the constituent of the vast Yueh-Chih horde or they were different from Yueh-Chih and they found Kuei-Shuang already existing in Tahia among one of the five principalities? In this case the original home of Kuei-Shuang will have to be Tahia or Bactria.[36]

Bactria (Tahia) in Classical and Greek Sources

According to Strabo[37] the Greek kings of Bactria were ousted by the Scythian nomads and he names four of them *Asii, Pasiani, Tochāri* and *Sacarauli*. According to the correct reading of Strabo[38] he mentions only three *Asii, Tochari* and *Sacarauli*. Trogus[39] in this connection mentions only two names—*Asiani and Saraucae*. These tribes seized Bactria from the Greeks. Many identifications regarding these tribes have been put forward which seem to have confused the problem all the more. Some identify Asii and Tochari with Yuech-Chih[40] while others equating Asii and Sacarauli of Strabo with Asiani

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and Saraucae respectively mentioned in Trogus, identify the remaining Tochari of Srabo with Yueh-Chih of the Chinese[41] sources. Trogus[42] further informs that Asiani became the kings of Tocharians and annihilated[43] Saracae. Sten Konow[44] identifies Asiani with Yueh-Chih and Tocharians[45] with the old inhabitants of Tahia[46] who had been living there for some time. If Kuei Shuang=Kushāṇas were already existing in Tahia before the Yueh Chih conquest then they were Tocharians.[47]

Kushāṇas in Indian Sources

Strangely enough, in India, the name Kushāṇa as such never appears in the literary sources and the semi historical works like Purāṇas, Mahābhārata etc. Instead the Purāṇas uniformly state that Tuṣāra or Tukhāra kings[48] succeeded the Yavanas in India and their number was fourteen,[49] but the combined strength of their rule varies widely.[50] The Thukāras are also mentioned in the Ramāyaṇa[51] and the Mahābhārata,[52] which name them by both their version Tukhāra and Tuṣāra. In the Harivaṁśa[53] they are classed along with Dardas, Śakas and Pahalvas and were considered mlechhas and dasyus. The Tukhāra or Tuṣara of Indian source seem to be the same as Tocharians described in the classical accounts[54] and they were an outside northern race bordering on Himālayas.[55] These Tukhāra or Tuṣāra kings are precisely the Kushāṇa kings of India, who succeeded the Greeks and who are mentioned in numerous inscriptions and thousand of coins.[56] Moreover, even the archaeological mound near Mathurā, which yielded the Kushāṇa statues is still called Tokhārī Tilā, the mound of Tukhāras.

However, the Tukhāras are never confused with Yueh-Chih in ancient Indian literature. They are said to have been separately mentioned in Mahābhārata[58] as Ṛishikas, Uttarrishikas or Paramrishikas.[59]

Conclusion

To sum up it appears that pressed and driven by the Hiungnu, the Yueh Chih, in the course of their westward migration came to

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Tahia and conquered it. The five chiefs or hi-hou already ruling in Tahia or old Tukhāra country become temporary vassals of the Yueh Chih but later on the hi hou of Kuei-Shuang=Kushana Kiu-tsio-Kio supplanted the Yueh Chih rule and established his own. Thus Kujula Kadphises, the chief of Kuei-Shuang, and the founder of the Kushāṇa empire was a Tukhāra. While the Kushāṇa ruler do not use the tribal epithet, Indian sources continue to call them as Tukhāras.

The foundation of the Kushāṇa empire

The principality of Kuei-Shuang was the starting point of the Kushāṇa empire in and outside India. Hou-Han-shu records that after hundred years of Yueh-Chih living in Bactria the chief Kuei-Shuang, attacked and destroyed the other four divisions and became the king and gave his clan or dynastic name to the nation. He then invaded An-hsi[60] and Kao fu. An-hsi is the usual Chinese name for Parthia and here it seems to mean Parthia or the parts of Indo-Parthian realm in Afghanistan. The stratification of Taxilā shows that the Kushāṇas were the immediate successors of the dynasty of Gondophares, a fact also corroborated by the Panjtar inscription and Taxilā Silver scroll inscription.[61] As for Kao-fu or Kabul it wass upposed that the last Greek ruler of Kabul Hermaeus was succeeded by Kujula Kadphises,[62] as both these kings are associated together on a series of coins. But this assumption was found to be incorrect on several grounds, the chief, of which was an explicit statement of Hou-Han-Shu[63] that "Kao fu (Kabul) was never dependent on the Yueh-Chih and it is therefore a mistake of the Han book (T: Sien-Han-Shu) when it includes it in the land of five hi-hou. Later on, it fell on the dependency of An-hsi (Pathia) and it was when the Yueh-Chih triumphed over it. An-hsi for the first time took Kao fo." There was a gap between Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises and the Kushāṇas took Kabul valley from Parthians and not Greeks.[64] The chief of Kuei-Shuang according to Hou-Han-Shu, also destroyed Pu-ta[65] and Kipin,[66] before he died at the age of eighty. The man who pioneered this policy of unification is called Kiu-tsiu-K'iọ and is identified with Kujula Kadphises,[67] the first Kushāṇa king, who is known from his

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coins also. These conquests stretching up to the Kabul valley must have brought the first Kushāṇa ruler in close proximity with the western world, especially Roman Empire. The male portrait head of Kujula Kadphises is unquestionably taken from the Roman coinage; the consensus is that Augustus was the prototype though scholars have recognized Claudius and Tiberius also.

There is no direct reference to Kujula, though three inscriptions seem to have been associated with his rule. They are the Takht-i-Bāhī[68] inscription of the year twenty six of Gondophares and 103 of an unknown era, the Panjtar inscription[69] of the year 122 of Mahārāj Gusāna and the Taxila Scroll inscription in the year 136 of Mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Kushāṇa.[70] These three inscriptions of the years 103, 122 and 136 seem to compromise a chronological sequence but their relationship to any known Kushāṇa king is a matter of speculation only.[71]

Vima Kadphises

Kujula Kadphises was succeeded by his son,[72] who is called Yen-Kao-tchen in Han-Shu and is identified with Vima Kadphises, known from his coins. According to the Chinese evidence Vima was the first Kushāṇa king to extend his rule over T'ien-tchou[73] or India proper, identified by most of the writers with the Punjab region watered by the Sindhu[74] and he appointed a viceroy to govern the new territory.

Though there is no positive ephigraphic evidence of Vima's conquest, some inscriptions are supposed to allude to him. These are the presumed statue of Vima at Mathurā, a rock inscription at Khalatse near Ladakh of the year 184 or 187[75] previously mentioned Panjtar inscription of the year 122 associated primarily with Kujula but occasionally with Vima[76] as well, as finally the epigraph marking the renovation of the Kushāṇa portrait Shrine at Māt during the reign of Huvishka.[77]

Soter Megas

A puzzling problem is posed by the large number of copper

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coins, found with the local issues, throughout the region, stretching from Mathura to Peshawar and into Russian Turkestan. Their large number alone testifies to a long reign. These coins do not carry any royal name but only an epithet 'The Great Saviour' the Greek legend being *Basileus Basileon Soter Megas* and sometimes in Kharoṣhtī *mahārajas rajādhirājas mahatasa trātāras*. These cointype bear close relationship to the early Kushāṇa.[78] Because of the common use of the epithet Soter Megas, Great Saviour or Mahatasa trātāras and coin symbol, this king is often identified with Vima Kadphises.[79] Taking a clue from the clear reference of Hou-Han-Shu that he left a governor to rule his newly conqured Indian territories, Soter magas coins are attributed to that unknown Viceroy,[80] though his identification is a moot point.

Kanishka After Vima[81] Kanishka was the the third king to issue coins whose title includes the dynastic name Koshano. It has been suggested that there was an interragnum[82] between Vima's death and the accession of Kaniska and Kanishka started a separate dynasty. Linked with this in the belief that before being the king of India Kanishka was ruling on the peripheri of the Kushāṣna empire. One suggestion is that Kanishka came from Khotan and belonged to little Yues-Chih stock[83] and he was summoned as an ethinic ally at the troublesome period after Vima's death while others make him king of Kashmir[24] as attested by the evidence of the Rājtaraṅgiṇī in which in the list of Turushka kings of Kashmir the name of Kanishka has been listed as the third of the sequence. All this confusion about the succession, the origin and his relation with Vima is linked with the intericate problem of the chronology of the Kushāṇas the key to which lies in the date of Kanishka.[85] However, there does not seem to have any major break in the dynasty and Vima was closely followed by Kanishka.[86] He was a major figure in Asian history and was one in the ranks of great kings who consolidated a "great new polyglot empire and helped to release the creative energies of their subjects,[87] but the unified record of Kanishka has been lost for centuries and the historical realities of his rule can only be dimly sensed. However, he started an era which

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is a land mark in the historical and cultural progress of the East as such and of the mankind as a whole.

The Contribution of the Kushāṇas

The idea of monarchy started by the Mauryas was carried a step forward by the Kushāṇas. They unified a large tract of the subcontinent under one supreme authority and their empire extended far beyond the natural frontiers of the country both in the North West and the North East. They brought Central Asia as well as Afganistan into the orbit of their empire. The Kushāṇa rulers especially Kaniska made India rank with the other three great world powers of the time, Parthia, Rome and China.

Extent of the Kushāṇa Empire

The Kushāna empire under Kanishka reached its zenith and became a mighty force of the world of that period. Definite archaeological evidence shows the prolonged presence of Kushāṇa in these five regions—Mathurā,[88] Taxilā, Peshawar,[89] Begram[90] and Surkhotal.[91] The presence of Kushāṇas can be traced throughout the region of Kabul[92], Kapiśā[93], Gandhāra and Swāt Valley[94] and Sindh.[95] Literary evidence establishes their presence at Kashmir[96] and Bālkh[97] which was the nucleous of Kushāṇa Kingdom.

Beyond this vast area there are important regions where it is probable for Kushāṇas to have ruled but for which the evidence is still teneous. Extensive Russian excavations have been carried in ancient Kwarezm, in the delta of Oxus river south of Aral sea. Soviet archeologists maintain that Kushāṇas ruled this place from 1st cent to 3rd cent. A.D. and associate with them a number of sites, most notable among them being *Gyaur Kala* and *Toparak Kala*[98] where a palace of Kanishka is said to have been excavated. *Dalverzin tepe*,[99] *Karul tepe*,[100] *Hairabad tepe*[101] where a fortified town of the Kushāṇa period is said to have been found along with coins of Kadphises I, Kanishka and Huvishka, and *Zartepe*[102] yielding 200 Kushāṇa coins, numerous terracotta figurines and statuetes.

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In western Tarimbasin, Yarkand and Khotan, literary evidence has indicated cultural connections with the Yueh-Chih. The widespread influence of Buddhism in this region is also sufficiently corroborated by the archaeological excavations[103] but the paucity of Kushāṇa coins and other substantial evidence makes it likely that the Kushāṇa interests in this region were strategic and commercial and they did not rule directly over much of the region for any considerable length of time.[104]

The Kushāṇa authority also extended over the eastern India to Ahichhatra, Śrāvastī, Kauśāmbi and Sārnath, as is attested by the inscribed votive images of Mathurā school found there.[105] In addition, both the Chinese and the Tibetan sources speak of Kanishkas capturing Pātaliputra and Ayodhya.[106]

Kushāṇa coins are also found abundantly in Orissa[107] and at such sites as Mayurbhanj, Sisupalgarh, Buxar and Sitaganj. It is difficult to assess Kushāṇa authority over Malwa and Gurjardeśa through western Śaka Kshatrapas of Ujjain which does not seem to have been recognized freely and willingly.[108] The above cited evidence indicates that the Kushāṇas established a big empire stretching from Aral Sea to Indian Ocean and from Gangā valley to the Tārim basin[109] and made India a World power.

The most significant development of this vast Kushāṇa empire was the political unification of peoples and tribes with different ethnic background, language, culture and religion[110] which provided Kushāṇa culture its syncretic bias.

The Kushāṇa Coinage

The Kushāṇas or particularly Vima Kadphises was the first King to have introduced a regular gold coinage in India, which was a momentous innovation. Barring the occasional gold coins of Graeco Bactrians[111] Silver was the chief metal for Coinage. After Vima, Kushāṇas minted basically in gold and copper.[112] This tradition of gold coinage was later adopted by the Guptas and other Indian kings. The gold coins of Kushāṇas were set on the weight standard of Roman

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aurei and remained fixed throughout the dynasty, though it became more and more debased,[113a] though in Rome the standard went on falling with the passage of time. The legends of the first two Kushāṇa kings are bilingual in Greek and Kharoṣthī in accordance with Bactrian practice but from Kanishka onwards it is Bactrian[113b] language written in Greek letters. The later Kushāṇas used Brāhmī as well as Kharoṣthī.

The Indo Roman coinage of the Kushāṇa dynasty, marks an epoch in the numismatic history of India. The Kushāṇa kings, while retaining many oriental features in their coin devices, definately abandoned the native Indian traditions and adopted in essentials the European form of coinage.[114] From this time onwards principal coinages of Northern India are double die pieces, issued by the authority of the Sovereign and usually bearing his effigy or his name or both.[115]

The legend *dharmthidasa* and *Sachadharmthidasa* and the figure presumed to be of Buddha on the reverse of his coins show the Buddhist leanings of the first Kushāna king—Kujula Kadphises. Vima Kadphises adopted a different legend *Sarvaloga Isvarasa Mahiś-varasa . . . . trātaras* and the figure of Śiva on the reverse, indicating that he, unlike his father, became a Śaiva. After him the coins of Kushāṇa kings, particularly those of Kanishka and Huvishka, have a great pantheon of divinities depicted on the reverse of their coins. These divinities are drawn from Rome, Egypt, Hellenized middle east, Iran and India. They reveal one of the most extraordinary characteristic of the dynasty: its broad cultural horizon and its religious syncretism. The significance of this galaxy of gods has long become a matter of speculation among scholars. It has been suggested by Kennedy that the host of foreign divinities were stamped on the Kushāṇa coins for the purpose of foreign trade and thus reflected the religious beliefs of external trade zone specially Messene and Characene at the head of the Persian Gulf. These merchants acted as the middlemen for the entire overland trade between India and the west.[116] This explanation does not sound plausible because if these coins were meant only for the trade in the extreme north and

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northwestern territories of the empire why were they circulated even in the innermost regions of the empire?[117]

Another explanation is that the coins were minted in different parts of the empire and the deities shown on the reverse were no other than the tutelary gods of the numerous mint cities[118] and point to the spirit of eclecticism with which these two Kushāṇa kings were imbued.[119] In this connection the rarity of Buddhist emblems and the absence of Jain deities on the Kushāṇa coins, in the face of overwhelming evidence of the popularity of these religions in the heart of Kushāṇa empire is difficult to explain.[120]

A recent suggestion is that the Kushāṇa Kings were the ardent believer of the idea of the divine origin of the king, the king being the chosen instrument of God,[121]an idea started by Alexander and pursued by his political successors, the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucids[122] represented by such titles as Basileus, Basileus Theos or Theos.[123] Among the Kushāṇas, the title of Soter on the coins of Vima, Soter Megas of the unnamed king, Deveputra, Begoshao and Begopouro (son of God), on the inscriptions at Surkhkotal from Kanishka onwards, are the most characteristic divine epithets.[124] However, this apothesis of Kushāṇa Kings had no religious purpose behind it. It was mainly an instrument of legitimacy and device to prop up the unity of the empire and to ensure the allegiance of the subjects and the feudatories.[125] Therefore, the great collection of deities on the Kushāṇa money, it is suggested, were shown as the divine companions and the supporters of the monarchy,[126] and the coinage was used as the vehicle of propaganda, a direct expression of the ideology of the ruling house.[127]

Whatever may be the underlying idea, it undoubtedly shows a liberal spirit[128] and the broad religious out look of the Kushāṇas.[129]

Trade and Commerce

Trade and Commerce scaled new heights during the Kushāṇa rule and the mercantile class grew very strong. The trade with west Asia and the mediterranean world, started by the Mauryas continued

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unabated and was also carried in the lands hither to untapped. The great silk route, the first transcontinental trade and diplomatic road in the history of mankind[130] was laid across the land of the Kushāṇas and brisk trade was maintained all along it.[131] This road connected China with Rome, Indians acting as the middlemen. As a result a great number of Indian trading and merchant colonies were established along the silk route—both southern and northern viz. Kashgar (Śailadeśa) Khotan (Khotanna) Yarkand (Chokkuka) Niya, Ender, Miran, Kucha, Quarshar (Agnideśa) Turfan and Bezelik, going upto Tun-huang (Jade Gate). Through this route China exported her famous silk and imported fine thorough breds from Fergana and Parthia,[132] many cultivated plants like alfalfa, grapevine[133] and hemp[134] from Central Asia and turmeric (haridra) saffron plants, asafoetida (hingu), costus, woollen[135] and possibly cotton from India.[136] As a result Oriental silk, spices, perfumes and fashion reached Rome and Mediterranean beads, pendants, clay lamps, mirrors, vessals and other objects of Roman luxury made their way in Central Asia and India.[137]

The establishment of a mighty Romas Empire in the west ushered in an era of peace and unity and order over a large part of Mediterranean world which gave a tremendous impetus to Indian commerce during the Kushāṇa period. The boundries of the Roman empire and the Kushāṇ empire in the West were only 550 k.m. apart.[138] The Romans fully realized the importance of the lucarative trade with India and in 25 B.C Augustus sent an expedition under Aelius Gallus to secure the command of sea route to India.[139] The Romans occupied the harbours of Arabia and Sacotra which served as the watering stations and refuges for the sailors.[140] Romans also tried to make the highways safer, to improve the existing facilities and new areas for better routes. Military expeditions were also organized to cope with piracy and raiders.[141] The road across the desert from Coptos to Myos Harmos was carefully marked out into stages, depots were made for storage.[142] Water reservoirs were built[143] and armed guards provided protection for traders and travellers.[144] A fleet was stationed in the Red Sea at the time under one prefect Apollinarus.

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Later on Hardrian built an entirely new road to the Red Sea and furnished it with halting stations.[146] The epoch making discovery of the monsoon winds in about 45 A.D.[147] altered the whole aspect of the sea borne trade between India and Europe. Now ships could sail from the Red Sea to India directly on the high seas, away from the pirate infested coast and the monopoly of the Arab traders was broken.[148] Traffic in goods and people increased enormously and whereas about twenty ships a year made the journey before the discovery of monsoon winds, a ship now left Egypt for India almost every day.[149] There were three important Roman ports in the Red sea, Arsione at Suez halfway down was Myos Hormos and finally Berenice.[150] The important ports of India were Barbaricum[151] on the Indus, Barygaza,[152] Suppara (Śūrparak) Calliena (Kalyan) Muziris[153] and Nelcynda.[154] Beyond that merchants travelled to Pandya country and Cholamandalam[155] in search for pearls and muslin. Asian and particularly Indian products were mostly popular with the luxury loving Romans. Indian wares did cost a hundred times more in Roman market than in India.[156] Chinese silk, which came to India through land route and was imported to Rome from Indian ports, was one of the most popular item of Roman trade.[157] Besides Indian pearl, ivory condiments, incense, nard oil, dyes, cosmetics perfumes, cinnamon, Indian birds and animals, drugs, jewels especially beryls (Sanskrit vaidūrya) and spices all fetched high price.[158] The Indian cotton, muslin called 'nebula' by Romans which came from Varanasi and Dacca[159] and iron, "the Indian metal which resisted rust," were in great demand.[160] Pepper remained the most sought after and highly priced article of Indian trade. It was sold at 15 denarii a pound in the days of Pliny.[161] It was consumed in such a large quantity that as a concession, no import duty was placed on it in Rome.[162] In return Western merchants carried tin and led to India, minerals which India herself did not possess, as well as wine coral and glass, a widely imported Roman product especially coloured glass brightly coloured girdles and silver coins.[163] Special presents were carried for the Kings, including maidens for harems.[164] From the very beginning the price of Indian goods was settled in Roman gold coins. The balance of this enormous trade was

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in favour of India and the Roman gold poured in the country. The hoardes. Of Roman gold coins unearthed in south substantiate this fact. Pliny[165] be wailed the enormous drain on Rome's resources by the demand for these eastern luxuries. There was not an year in which India did not take at least 50 million sesterces of gold[166] from Rome, an equal amount was divided between Arab and China. Trade thrived with first five Roman Emperors and reached its zenith at the time of Nero. It has been suggested that Kushāṇas attacked India mainly for her thriving trade with India and Rome.[167]

Trade led to Roman and Indian settlements[168] in their respective area of influence. There was a Yavana colony at the mouth of Kaveri river and foreign populations were known to have existed at Madura[169] and Vikrampatanam near Pondichery.[170] Roman settlements or trading posts have been dug up at Arikamedu near Pondichery and Indo China[171] where Roman glass, coins and jewellery have been found along Indian and Chinese objects.

Tamil poets of Sangam Age describe the foreigners: "Agitating the white foam of the Periyar, the beautifully built ships of the Yavanas came with gold and returned with pepper". A Pandya prince is asked to drink "the cool and fragrant wines brought by the Yavanas".

A temple of Augustus is also said to have existed at Muziris[172] on the West Coast of India, Dio Chrysostom,[173] who lived in the reign of Trajan (98-117 A.D.) mentions the population of cosmopolitan Alexandria which included many Indians who came there for trade. An inscription found at Bernice near Rhodesia mentions an Indian traveller named Subāhu, who sailed between India and Alexandria.[174] Trade resulted in diplomatic contacts. The first Indian Embassy to Augustus reached him when he was camping on the island of Samos[175] (20-21 cent B.C.). The Indian King was perhaps Azes II.[176] After the establishment of the Kushāṇa empire the diplomatic contacts became more regular. The role of the Kushāṇas in providing a meeting ground for great Civilizations of the time had been extremely important contact between India and other Civilizations was anterior to the rise

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of the Kushāṇas but in no time was it greater.[177] Many other embassies were sent to Augustus from India, the most important of which was carrying a Buddhist monk Zarmanochigas (Sṛamṇachārya) who imitated Kalanos by burning himself on a pyre at Athens.[178] Other embassies also visited Rome from time to time in the court of Trajan (98-117 A.D.)[179] Hadrian (117-138) Antonius Pius (138-161) *Marcus Aurelius* (161-180) Heliogablus (218-222) Aurelean (270-75 A.D.) Constantine (323-353) and other.[180] The lasting mementos of these contacts are a silver dish depicting Mother India seated on an ivory legged chair surrounded by Indian animals like parrot, guinehen, monkeys with necklaces and two Inding leadians pet tiger and a panther to fight,[181] found at Lapascus and the Ivory statuette of Lakshmī of Mathurā style discovered at Pompeii. Indian thought and philosophy also reached Rome is shown by the recent discovery of a third ceutury work of st Hippolytus, "Regulation of all Heresies" also known *Philosophoumena* which contains a brief exposition of the Brahmins of Tungabhadra, in South India. In championing the cause of Christian Orthodoxy.[182] Hippolytus was attacking the doctrines of Upanishads. This indicates that Roman intellectuals were becoming greatly interested in the doctrines which came from India during that period.[183] It was perhaps the rise of Christianity that put on and to the influx of Indian doctrines in Rome.

From the mediterranean region perhaps Indian trade reached Gaul and Scandinavia as the finds of Kushāṇa coins in those countries[184] suggest. Russian archeologists have found Kushāṇa coins in Kiev, Ethiopia and Scandinavia and many other towns of the Roman Empire.[185] The excavations carried out in the mid-nineteen fifties on a small island called Lillion or Helgs in Lake Malaress, about twenty miles off Stockholm, dug many foreign objects including a beautifully carved statue of the Buddha seated cross legged on a lotus throne.[186] The statue is either Indian or Centra! Asian.[187] Added to these discoveries is the epigraphic evidence from Junnar in Western India which refers to two Yavanas, Irila and Cita who are suggested to have come here from Scandinavia.[188]

It appears that the Goths too, like Romans had developed a

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liking for Indian products like pepper and silver. Alaric, the Goth, demanded 3,000 pounds of pepper and 4,000 robes of silk, as a part of ransom for sparing Rome[189] in 408 A.D. The attraction of these and other Indian merchandise explains the coming of Gothic traders[190] to India. Thus the trade of India during Kushāṇa period appears to havh encompassed the whole of Europe.

Indian trade with Rome had an extremely important influence on the contacts of India with the countries of Sout East Asia. Rome's demand for luxuries and spices was so great that India alone could not supply it. Consequently Indian traders began searching eastward for fresh sources of supply. They imported goods from the countries of South East Asia and then exported them to the Roman World.[191] Some Roman merchants also sean to have done some direct trade with these lands, as Ptolemy speaks of the parts situated in Malaya, Cochin, China, Siam Kamboj, Java and Sumatra.[192] Canton[193] was thc most important port of the area. For the trade with South East Asia, Indian merchants used the land routes[194] too, via Burma and Assam but the sea route was found to be more convenient. Important Indian ports of embarkation were Tāmralipti, Palura, near Gopalpur in Orissa, Muslipatam, Kaveri-pattam and Madurai.[195] Indian merchants went to Burma, Malay peninsula and then to East India and Indo-China[196] upto Tonkin (China).

Kushāṇas and Buddhism :

From the beginning a Kujula Kadphises seems to have shown favour to Buddhism with his epithets *dhamathidasa and Sachadhamadhidas*. (meaning established in faith or true faith) in his seated Buddha and Zeus[197] type of coins. But the state of things became quite different when Kanishka entered the stage. He not only partronized this religion but becamə a Buddhist convert either by Pārśva or Aśvaghoṣa. According to Hiuen[198] Tsang, Kanishka was deeply pious, frequently consulted the Buddhist Sūtras and daily a priest entered his palace to preach and he often consulted Parśva. However, being disturbed by conflicting sectarian[199] doctrines prevelant at that time Kanishka issued invitations to the learned scholars of each of the

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Buddhist schools and convened a Buddhist council at Kundalvana Vihāra in Kashmir or Jalandhar, four hundred years after the death of Buddha. The President of the Council was the Sarvāstivādin scholar Vasumitra. The council lasted for six months. Elaborate commentries on the Scriptures were drawn up and a Buddhist Encyclopaedia, the Mahāvibhāṣa was compiled in Sanskrit. Kanishka had these engraved on the sheets of red copper, enclosed them in a stone receptacle and built a stupa over[200] it.

Some modern scholars are sceptic about the spritual envolvement of Kanishka[201] with Buddhism and his conversion, which was perhaps not a profound experience like Aśoka. His patronage, they maintain, must have been essentially political. The Buddhist, emblems, which appear on his coins are comparitively rare and are far outnumbered[202] by other types. Kanishka may have been like Constantine attracted by a variety of religions and guided as much by the exegencies of politics as by his own spiritual[103] needs. Nonetheless, Kanishka's name is a major polarizing element for the history of this period in which Buddhism became an international faith. Moreover, Buddhist traditions associate Kanishka with many Buddhist theologians like Aśvaghoṣa, Vasumitrā, Parśva, Saṃgharaksh, Dharmatrāta, Mātriceta and Nagārjuna, whose writings were the nucleous of Buddhism[204] of the times to come. With these scholars Pāli was replaced by Sanskrit. After the period of Aśoka, the reign of Kanishka marks the next prominent land mark in the history of Buddhism. It was largely through his patronage and efforts that Buddhism was carried into Central Asia and China where Indian traders had already made a heading. There was ceaseless missionary activity throughout his reign. Kanishka's reign may be characterized as the starting point of Asian culture,[205] founded on the ancient traditions of India, Iran, Afganistan and Central Asia and enriched by the achievements of Graeco-Roman culture, which became the basis on which the Medieval cultures of many peoples of the east developed.[206]

Spread of Buddhism

The whole region of North West India, Kashmir, Gandhāra up

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to present day Afganistan had been strongly influenced by Buddhism since the time of Aśoka.[207] During the Kushāṇa period the whole area became predominantly Buddhist. Two great Buddhist scholars of the time, Āsaṅga and Vasubandhu belonged to Gandhāra,[208] so also were arhats Mātaṅga and Kaśyap,[209] who were invited by the Chinese Emperor Ming Ti in A.D. 67 to preach Buddhism in China. Kapiśā (Modern Begram) in Afganistan was the summer capital of Kanishka where he kept the Chinese hostages.[210] Buddhism was the main religion of the place and the Chief Buddhist centres were Bamiyan, Bimran Hadda, Begram, Paitava and Fondukistan.[211] From Afganistan Indian Culture, art and religion spread extensively in the West and Central Asia reaching up to China. The net work of Caravan routes which connected China with India and the West went through Afganistan and here the merchants, missionaries, artists, soldiers of different regions came in closer contact with one another.[202]

Bactria

Buddhism was widely practised in Bactria from very early times.[213] There is a tradition of great antiquity that two of their countrymen Trapusa and Bhallika,[214] had received their enlightenment from Buddha himself and then disseminated his teachings. However, Buddhist temples in Karatepe and the Sanctuary of Dalverz-in tepe and Termez testify to the extensive spread of Buddhism in Bactria during the Kushāṇa period,[215] this being the nucleus of his empire.

Further West, Buddhism was firmly established in Margiana (Parthia)[216] by 1st Cent A.D. Buddhism went to South east Parthia from adjacent Bactria and by about 2nd cent A.D. or by the time of An Shiko,[217] it had gained a firm footing.

In Tajikistan, in West Pamir at Darsai, an old Kharoṣṭhī inscription belonging to 1st cent B.C. or a little later has been found with the words 'Nārāyaṇa be victorious." Here Nārāyaṇa, probably means Buddha.[218]

Buddhism in Eastern Turkistan & China

From Western Turkistan Buddhism reached the Tarim basin and the adjoining region or Eastern Turkistan.[219] The famous theo-

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logians and missionaries of this region played an important role in the diffusion and dissemination of Buddhism. This process was enacted between 1st cent B.C. and 1st cent A.D.[220] The two most famous Buddhist scholars of western Turkistan were Ghosaka,[221] who participated in the Buddhist council convened by Kanishka and Darmamitra of Tarmita or Termez,[222] who for the first time translated a treatise of Vaibhāṣika school in the Tocharian language. According to the Sūtrālankāra, a native of Pushkalāvatī (evidently in Kushāṇa period) journeyed to Tashkent, to decorate a Buddhist monastery.[223] Buddhism had been infiltrating in this region from the time of Aśoka and Indo-Greek Kings[223a] but its process had been faciliated by the strong organization of the vast Kushāṇa empire, under which this whole area was unified and whose kings had strong leanings towards the fiath.[224] A Chinese tradition states that Lord Buddha understood the Yueh-Chih language better than any other language.[225] The initial contacts of India and Eastern Turkistan were commercial which later on especially during the Kushāṇa period developed into religious and cultural. It has been suggested that in Eastern Turkistan the missionary zeal of the Kushāṇas was motivated more by political and financial considerations than by religious.[226] Whatever might have been the cause the fact remains that at that time Buddhism was the most important prevailing religion of Central Asia. Certain Hindu cults and a few gods and goddesses also came who known in Central Asia quite early, the most important among them being Vishṇu and Śiva.[227] At a later date Buddhism, Śaivism and Vaiśnavism synchronized to form one single religion.[228] This catholicity of Buddhism made it readily acceptable to the people belonging to other faiths.[229]

Among these Central Asian settlements Khotan[230] was the strongest centre of Buddhist religion and learning. According to a local tradition Buddhism was introduced in Khotan by Bodhisattva Manjuśrī himself in the guise of Arhat Vairochana from Kashmir.[231] Buddhism predominated the land and Khotan was dotted with hundreds of Buddhist shrines and monastries, each inhabited by numerous monks who were known for their learning and piety.

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The important Buddhist centres along the silk route were Kucha, Quarashar, Bezeklik, Niya Ender, Turfan and many others. The discovery[232] of numerous Buddhist texts written in Prakrit, Sanskrit and local languages[233] together with a number of Buddha images,[234] paintings[235] and remains of hundreds of Buddhist shrines, Stupas and monastries[236] testify the fact that Buddhism was the prevailing religion of the whole region. Carried on the shoulders of trade and religion, Indian civilization travelled far and wide in Central Asia. Hundreds of Kharoṣthī documents in Prakrit language convey information relating to administrative, commercial and miscellenous matter relating to social life and customs as part of Indian culture in this land.[237] Buddhism did for Asia what Christianity had done for the Mediterranean world.

Buddhism in China

From central Asia Buddhism crept into China. Truth and legend are fantastically interwoven in the stories about the initial phase of the spread of Buddhism in China.[238] Official Chinese accounts however place the event in 65 A.D. when the Emperor Ming of Han dynasty invited Kaśyap Mātanga and Dharmaraksha to preach Buddhism in China. But the pace of the Buddhist missionary activity was accelerated after the establishment of the Kushāṇa Empire in India whose boundaries almost touched the Chinese Empire.[239] In this age non-Indian monks from western Turkistan spear-headed the movement, the chief among them was An-Shiko, a Parthian monk.[240] Numerous translations of Buddhist scriptures by these monks and the others who followed, was the biggest factor in the spread of Buddhism in China.[241] From Chinese mainland Buddhism travelled to Korea[242] and then to Japan[243] at a later date. This enormous geographical expansion made Buddhism almost a global religion. The reasons for this phenomenal success were the appealing simplicity of Buddhism, its broader perspective which looked upon all human beings as equals[244] and, above all, its syncretic[245] character which enabled it to adapt itself to the local sects wherever it went eg with Zoroastrianism[246] in West Asia and with Taoism and Confucianism in China.[247]

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The Cult of Bodhisattva—The close contact of the Kushāṇa empire with other countries, especially Iran and the Hellenized orient, was responsible for introducing in India many foreign ideas and concepts which influenced the religious systems of the time[248] and also emerged into cult practises[249] which had a mushroom growth during the Kushāṇa period and there about. One such example is the cult of Bodhisattva.[250] Bodhisattva is a sentient being, in any form of existence, who is determined to attain Enlightenment, not for his own benefit, but for the entire suffering humanity.[251] He is the embodiment of compassion, he delays his own entry into Nirvāṇa, in order to help others to reach their goal.[252] The chief among them is Maitreya, Buddha to come,[253] whose guidance will lead thousands of suffering men to salvation. A similar doctrine of Messianic saviours had been current through out the Western Asia, Yah Weh[254] of Jews, who would bring salvation to Israel, Jesus[255] of Christians and Saoshyant[261] to Zoroastrian.

Western influence have also been seen in the cult of Amitabh or Amida, the god of boundless light and the Lord of Western Paradise and his two attendants Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, who are said to be the adaptation of the Mithran[257] god Zurvan, god of Time together with the Lord of Light and Wisdom[258] or the representation of Christ with Dioscuri.[259]

The foreign population living in the north west border regions of the empire was instrumental for the seeping in of foreign elements from the west, in Indian thought.[260] Part of the reasoning is that these deities are now unknown, except in sculptures, in the land of their birth, but have survived in Central Asia, China and Japan and their scriptures have mostly come down to us in Chinese translations.[261]

Other Sects and Cult Worship

Sunworship—The Magian form of Sunworship which was introduced during the reign of the Śaka kings was given a fillip due to the patronage of the Kushāṇas and during this period it spread throughout northern India from Gandhāra to Orissa.[262] The figure of sun deity

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Miiro is seen on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka[263] and the first sun image of Iranian tradition is found during the Kushāṇa[264] period. A small figure of Sūrya of this period is found in Gandhāra region wearing high boots and sitting in a chariot drawn by four horses.[265] The Mathurā school of art has produced a number of sun images, as it of was the most important centre of the Iranian type of sunworship.[266] One Sūrya[267] image of the Mathurā Museum wears a heavy tunic and is seated on a chariot drawn by four horses. There are traces of top boots in his partially visible legs. In another image of the Kushāṇa period, Sūrya is depicted, seated like a Kushāṇa emperor on a chariot drawn by two horses, wearing Indo-Scythian dress of tunic, trousers and boots.[268] In other figures of the Mathurā Museum there is perfect remodelling on Iranian lines.[269] He is also shown with his attendant Daṇḍa and Pingala.[270] These alien features of solar iconography continued in the early Gupta period but gradually the Indian elements[271] predominated.

Worship of Kubera

The imagery of the Kushāṇa art shows their strong attraction for Kubera Pāncika,[272] a deity having a wide range of functions.[273] A giant statue of Kubera Pāncika from Takal, near Peshawar, sitting regally on the throne is an excellent example of Gandhāra Art.[274] He is also sometimes shown with his consort Hāriti,[275] who is always surrounded with a bunch of children. The Worship of Yaksha, the associate of Kubera, was common over a large party of the Kushāṇa empire.[276] Huan-t'sang saw a temple of Yaksha at Kapiśā[277] and at Balkh in Navasaṁghārām[278] monastery.

Art and Architecture

The establishment of a big empire, governed by a stable government for about two centuries, abundant economic prosperity resulting from international trade, the ease of internal communication within the empire, during the Kushāṇa period, unleashed the creative and artistic activity of the people, which is reflected in numerous art specimens found from different sites.

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The two major trends of the artistic activity of this period are labelled as the Gandhāra and Mathurā Schools of Art.

Gandhāra School of Art

As has already been discussed earlier[279] the date of this art school is still uncertain but most of the scholars agree that roughly it started taking shape by the middle of the 1st cent B.C. after the decline of the Greek power in India, during the Śaka Parthian period.[280] The days of its expansion, however, coincide with the reign of great Kushāṇa Kings, particularly Kanishka and the school maintained its abundant production till the 3rd and 4th cent A.D.[281]

Besides its date, scholars also disagree as to the main inspiration behind this art, one school stressing the Hellenistic influence[282] while the other advocates the Roman influence[283] which is said to have come chiefly from Alexandria via the Red Sea. Upon close examination the Hellenistic inspiration of this art appears undeniable, though transformed by the Indo-Scythian, Roman and Indian influences.[284]

Whatever the influences, Gandhāra art is an unique combination of foreign technique and Indian theme. The Gandhāra Buddha bears all the iconographic marks and traits of Indian tradition[285] but he is rendered in the manner of the divine figure of the Graeco-Roman pantheon, with completely foreign features.[286] Robed in a thick garment arranged in the fashion of a Roman toga, with hair arranged in wavy curls and physionomy and expression unknown to Indian norms sometimes with a moustache and a turban, Gandhāra artists turned the Buddha into an Apollo.[287]

For the sake of convenience, the entire time span covered by Gandhāra Art can be divided into three periods. The first is from the beginning to about the 1st cent A.D. In this period the Buddha figures have beautifully executed heads, showing locks of curly hair overflowing the uṣniśa, the body is proportional and the attitude is relaxed.[288] The characteristic feature of these figures is mobility and dynamism.[289] The drapery is voluminous, covering the entire body from shoulder to ankles.[290] Plastically the drapery is treated here

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as a separate volume[291] with its own weight. In the later phase of this period there is a conscious attempt towards the diaphanous treatment of the drapery, as is apparent from the Buddha figures from Charsadda, Takht-i-Bāhī and Sahri Bahlol.[292]

In the next phase, stylisation sets in which is characteristic of Gandhāra art throughout the 2nd cent A.D.[293] In this period the figures are short and stumpy exhibiting a crude rustic strength.[294] The drapery as a rule is fluted with schematic parallel folds.[295]

From the third century onwards there is a revival of artistic tendencies which were current in the 1st cent A.D.[296] The works of this later phase are characterised by an intensity of feeling, strong realism and an individuality of character.[297] The style is free and the attitude is relaxed.[298] The drapery is progressively of gossamer type.[299] Stone sculpture became rare, stucco and terracota which are more pliable, were the favourite materials of this period. On the whole, the Buddha figures of Gandhāra Art are without emotional character and lack spiritual expression.[300]

The most important centres of the last phase of Gandhāra Art were Hadda and Jaulian. It was this phase of Gandhāra which was carried on the shoulders of Buddhism and Buddhist monks to Central Asia and China from Hadda and Bamiyan.[301] With Gandhāra art also went the traditions of other schools of Indian art which were being practised at Mathurā, Vidiśā and Amrāvati etc. There is nothing like central Asian Art as claimed by some Russian scholars,[302] and the art found in Central Asia was but an extension of Gandhāra art mixed with local traditions.[303]

The Mathurā-School of Art

Mathurā, the chief centre of Kushāṇa rule in India, became a prolific centre of art production, during this period. This school represents in main a direct development of the older art of Bharhut, Sanchī and Besnagar.[304] The early Kushaṇa Buddha and Bodhisattva of Mathurā is characterized by certain special traits—the sculpture is either in round or in high relief, the head is shaven, the uṣnīṣa wherever preserved is spiral, there is no urṇā, the right hand is raised

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in abhaya mudrā the left is often clenched, which rests on the thigh in the seated figures and in the standing figures holds the folds of the robe. The figure is masculine with broad shoulders though breasts are curiously prominent. The robe leaves the right shoulder bare and the drapery moulds the flesh very closely and is arranged in schematic folds. The seat is a lion throne. In case of standing figures there is often a seated lion between the feet. The sculpture is always in mottled red sand stone. The whole figure is expressive of enormous energy, rather than of repose and grace. The open eyes and smiling countenance also make no suggestion of spiritual introspection.[305] These figures seem to be in the continuous tradition of the pre Kushāṇa[306] Yaksha figure.

The heavy and massive form becomes relaxed in course of time. It grows supple and pliable with a gliding linear contour. But inspite of this refinement and elgance the figures remain earthbound as before with no suggestion of spirituality.[307] The iconographic details reach their fullness but the spiritual grace which is the keynote of the image of a divine being remains lacking.[308] The same holds true of the other cult images of Jain and Brahmanical faith.

The Mathurā artists were aware of the contemporary Gandhāra art traditions.[309] Certain Buddha figures in which the drapery covers both the shoulders, the head is not shaven but covered with curls are the indication of this knowledge.[310] More definite evidence of such contacts are the certain motifs such as woman and acanthus, garland bearing erotes, vine with fruits etc. Some foreign influences are also noticable in Mathurā art such as a figure of Herakles and a Nemean lion, a number of Bachhalian scenes in relief, the figure of Silenus. They may be due to the Roman[311] influence. Coming directly from the searoute or the remmants of Greek artistic[312] tradition or the influence of the Gandhāra School[313] but these sculptures constitute a very small part of the whole production of this school.[314]

The continuity of the indigenous art traditions is represented at its best by a series of high relief sculptures on the front side of pillars and pillar bases from the various sites of Mathurā. A great

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majority of them are nude or seminude female figures—Yakshiṇis or Vṛikshakās or apsaras in erotic poses suggesting fertility or women enjoying their toilet. Their representation was becoming increasingly sensuous and exotic.[315]

The indigenous art of Mathurā is also represented by votiveslabs known as āyāgpatas, which were erected in Jain shrines for the adoration of arhats.

Portrait Art of Kushāṇas

From the ancient site of Māt[316] and Gokarṇeśvara,[317] two royal portrait statues of Kanishka and Vamataksha and of many other nobles were found. These and a reference to Devakula in a damaged[318] inscription of the time of Huvishka suggest that there was a portrait gallery of the kings and nobles in association with those of various divinities at that place.[319]

The statue of Kanishka is the best specimen of the portrait art patronized by the Kushāṇa kings. The Brāhmī inscription[320] leaves no doubt regarding the identification of this ruler. The other statue is of a seated king who is mentioned on the pedestal inscription[312] as *Kushāṇaputra Vamatakshama*, which is perhaps an epithet of Vima.[322] Another statue is only a torso with head and feet lost having a cryptic inscription *Shastana* or *Mastana*[323] who is presumed to be the Śaka Satrap of Ujjayanī,[324] Chaṣṭana. Besides, there is a pedestal of a standing figure[325] with only the feet wearing the padded boots, fastened with straps and an inscription between the feet referring to an officer (mahādandāyaka). There are also some detached male heads wearing high conical hats. One from Māt has a monogram on his hat reading nāyasa[326] and the other from Palikhera (Mathurā).

Two important images of Indo-Scythians have been excavated from Gokarṇeśvara Tīlā. One of these is a simple torso, very similar to the style of the Māt statues, so similar that both could have been carved out by the same hand.[327] The other is a large life sized portrait (worshipped as Mahādeva in a small temple on the top of the mound) in a peculiar squatting position (found on the coins of Vima and Huvishka) with a high head dress. This statue is about six feet

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high and is carved in the same massive spirit as the portraits of Vima and Kanishka.[328] It is obvious from the finds that portrait statues represent strictly Kushāṇa kings; nobles and government functionaries.[329] Similar statues of the nobles and of Kushāṇa monarchs without inscriptions are also found at Surkh Kotal[330] in Afganistan at the other end of the Kushāṇa empire. The most striking of the statues found here is the lower half of a male figure, dressed in heavy topcoat, ornate tunic and full bloused shalwars which bears a close resemblance to the Māṭ statue of Kanishka[331]—the proportions, the frontality, the splay footed pose, the heiratic symmetry and the royal costume make this patent.

The Art of portraiture was never seriously cultivated in Indian sculpture until the time of the Pallava kings in the middle of the 7th cent A.D. and the rock cut portaits of Mamallapuram.[332] Whatever may be the reasons, the fact remains that the Kushāṇa portraits from Mathurā are the oldest extant ones in the history of Indian[333] Art. This art was a distinct Kushāṇa innovation in Indian[334] Sculpture, which has it closest connection with the royal portrait sculpture of Rome and more particularly with Parthian Iran.[335] The main Parthian centre of this art were the commercial cities of Palymara, Dura and Hatra situated on the western fringe of the empire.[336]

Kirītamukuta

It has been suggested that kirītamukuta, or the highly jeweled conical crown worn by various divinities like Sūrya. Kubera, Nārāyaṇa and Bodhisattvas in Gupta and post Gupta Sculpture,[337] has been developed from the Kushāṇa[338] head dress or the Indo-Scythian helmet, seen on the various male heads found from Mathurā and Gandhāra regions.[339] Kirīta has been shown in Kushāṇa art but its use is rare, it became popular in later period.[340]

Halos—Again, the representation of halos and the flaming shoulders in Indian iconography, is perhaps also introduced by the Kushāṇas. Almost all the Kushāṇa kings from Vima onwards, Kanishka, Huvishka, Vāsudeva, Kanishka III and others, are shown

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on their coins with flames emanating from their shoulders or halos or both. These outward marks of a superhuman are exceptional[341] in their day. The flaming shoulers are said to be the manifestion of the deity Khavan Kharveno,[342] the Iranian concept of Royal good fortune and abundance, the Indian counterpart of which is Lakshmī[343] or Śri. Some Buddha images of the Kushāṇa period were shown with flaming shoulders especially those found at Shotorak, Paitava near Kapiśā. In later Hindu iconography of the Gupta period onwards this motif of flaming shoulders was abandoned being replaced by flaming[344] halos which remained an essential part of Buddhist iconogrphy.

Pralampādāsana

Similarly the so-called European pose or *pralampādāsana*, adopted by Vima in his Māt portrait Shrine, was also a Kushāṇa innovation.[345] On the coins of Indo Greek Kinge some enthroned deities like Athena, Artemis, Demeter and Zeus were depicted in this pose but placing a full figure of a living king enthroned on the coin reverse was a presumptous practice, tinged with Parthian influence.[346] In Gandhāra Sculpture, as might be expected, this pose became fairly common but it was reserved entirely for Bodhisattvas and minor deities but was never associated with Buddha.[347] In the Mathurā School too this pose is quite common with minor cult deities and continued to be so in the Gupta period.[348]

Conclusion

The Kushāṇas did not come to India as the bearers of a new civilization, like Graeco-Bactrian kings. In this respect they were like the Śakas, who adapted themselves to the culture and civilization of their subjects. Their rule is of immense importance because they patronized Indian religions, art and scholarship which revitalized the contemporary Indian culture. Their contribution to Indian Civilizations is immense.

The Kushāṇas carried the idea of an unified monarchial empire, started by the Mauryas, a step further. In the first three centuries of the Christian era, they established a big empire from the Gangā Valley

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to the Oxus and Tarim basin, whose geographical position, straddling on the trade routes between Rome, Iran and China made it in many ways the very centre of the world. India ranked with the other three great world powers of the time, Rome, Parthia and China. Moreover in this empire the peoples and tribes with a different ethinic background, language and culture were unified for the first time in Indian history. An era of peace and security was ushered in.

The Kushāṇa control over the silk route which passed through Central Asia, the immense maritime trade with Rome and the spice lands of south-east Asia provided India with unheard of economic prosperity and affluence. Foreign gold poured into the country.

The political peace and economic prosperity made possible the phenomenal artistic activity of the time, with its twin centres of Gandhāra and Mathurā. The appearance of the Buddha image, supported by the philosphic doctrines of Mahāyāna, gave new dimensions to Indian art. Besides, some other innovations were introduced in the Indian art tradition, based on the foreign notions and alien trends brought by the Kushāṇas with them. Indian art, especially the traditions of Gandhāra Art were carried to Central Asia, China and Japan and left its unforgetable stamp there.

The Kushāṇa era saw the unprecedented development of Buddhism. Due to the efforts of Kushāṇa Kings, especially Kanishka in whose reign there was an active missionary movement throughout the empire, Buddhism spread into Bactria, Parthia, the Tarimbasin and also to China, appealing to Iranians and Central Asians, radiating its influence and absorbing influence from abroad. Various other cults also, as of Kārtikeya, Vāsudeva, Krishna, Śiva, Vishṇu and Sūrya were emerging in this period.

A very significant feautre of this age was the co-existence between the various ethnic groups, different cultural traditions and numerous religious creeds and sects, which has the result of the policy of religious toleration pursued by the Kushāṇa kings. This was period of extensive cosmopolitan contacts, of the mixing of men and goods and ideas throughout the civilized world. The role of the Kushāṇa rulers was in the sphere of absorbtion and diffusion, the function which

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was admirably fulfilled by them. The Indian renaissance which flourished during the Gupta period, had its roots in the dramas of Aśvaghosa and the carvings of Mathurā and Gandhāra.

The cultural achievements of the Kushāṇas, a foreign people, who embraced Buddhism were an anathema to the orthodox Brahmin compilers of the Purāṇas and hence this dynasty barely found a place in the recorded history. They were none the less an integral and a very potent force of Indian cultural history.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Rosenfield John M, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushanas* p. 7; K.P. Jaiswal considered Kushāṇa to be the personal name of the founder of this dynasty, Kujula Kadphises J.B.O.R.S. xiv, 1930 p. 256. "Problems of Saka Sātavāhana History".
2. Sten Konow—Manikala inscription of the year 18 in which a certain General Lala was described as Gushāṇa Vaṁśa Samvardhaka CII pp. 145-50. Von Stael Holstein proposed the theory that the national name was Kusa and aṇa was a genetive suffix. "Was there a Kusana Race?" JRAS 1914 pp. 78-88. Maenchen Helfen accepted this, "The Yueh Chi Problem Reexamined", J.A.O.S. 65 (1945) pp. 74 ff.
3. Lüders H.—Epigraphica India XXIV (1937) "Seven Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathura and its vicinity" pp. 98-138.
4. Sten Konow. CII p. L; Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushanas* p. 7.
5. Bruchstrucke der Kalpanamand tika des Kumarlata Leepzig 1926 cited by Sten Konow in CII p. XLIX.
6. Springling Martin—*Third Century Iran* pp. 7 & 14.
7. Hultzsch E—ZDMG—69, 1915 p. 176.
8. Konow Sten—CII p. L.
9. Hirth H Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk, p. 48—cited by Konow Sten CII p. L.
10. Rājtaraṅgiṇī—1.170.
11. Hemchandra—Abhidhānchintamaṇi p. 959 "Turushkas tu sa khayah Syuh". Sylvain Levi first drew the attention to this statement that the Turks are Shahi, the title used by Kanishka and his successors in Brāhmī inscriptions. "Notes sur les Indo Scythes" J.A. 1896 pp. 444-484, 1897, 5.26, 27-74, translated by W.R. Philips in IA XXXII (1903); pp. 38-388, 417, 426.
12. Kennedy was positive that the Kushāṇas were Turks "The Secret of Kanishka", J.R.A.S. 1912 p. 670.

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13. Aurel Stein—*Serindia*, p. 1361.
14. Sten Konow, CII, p. L.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Sten Konow, CII, p. Ll.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Zimmer—*The Art of Indian Asia*, p. 7 Vol. I.
19. Rosenfield—*The Dynastic Art of the Kushanas*, p. 9; Phillip E.J. "New Light the Asian History of Eursonian Sleppe" A.J.A. (1957) pp. 269-280.
20. Phillip E.J. *op. cited.*
21. Konow Sten—CII p. li; Bachhoffer L. after making a careful study of the costumes and the weapons of the Kushāṇas from their coins concluded that the Śakas and Kushāṇas wore the same dress and fought with the same weapons. "On Greeks and Sakas in India" J.A.O.S. 61.1941 pp. 247-250; Maenchan Halfen Otto—"The Yueh-Chi Problem re-examined" I.A.O.S. 65, 1945 pp. 71-81: Sastri K.A.N.—*A Comprehensive history of India*, Vol. II, p. 226; Puri B.N. *India Under Kushāṇas*, p. 7 and "The Nationality and original Habital of the Kushāṇas "ABIHAK (1940-47 No. 1194:) ABIHIB No. 59.
22. Konow Sten—CII, Vol. II, Part I, p. LI.
23. Leumann. Zur nordarishen sparcche and Literature, Strasburg, 1912—cited by Sten Konow, CII, P.L.
24. Pelliot—"Memoirs de la Socie te de Linguistique" 18, 1913 pp 89 ff cited by Sten Konow, p. Ll.
25. Kirsh—W.Z.K.M. 26, p. 395, cited by Sten Konow, CII, Vol. II, Part I, p. Ll.
26. Konow—CII, Vol. II, Part I, p. LII.
27. *Ibid.*, He Calls it Śaka or Śakish; Puri B.N., *Indian Under the Kusāṇas*, p. 4.
28. Sten Konow—CII; Vol. II part I, p. LII.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*, LII.
31. *Ibid.*, Llli, Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 9 ff; Rahul Sāiṁkrityāyan, *Madhya Asia Kā Itihāsa*, p. 188; B.N. Puri *India Under the Kushāṇas*, p. 5. Narain A.K. Vehemently opposes the view that Kushānas were Śakas, *Indo Greeks* p. 138.
32. Chavannes, who translated Hou-Hau-Shu of Fanye known as Annals of Late Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-128) says that Yueh-Chih now represent the whole of Tahia henceforth they are Tahia. *Tuang Pao*. 11, VIII, p. 187.
33. Supra Chapter IV pp. 23-25. The Westward march of Yueh-Chi has been described in detail.
34. Hirth Fredrick, "The Story of Chang Kien" JAOS XXXVII (1917), pp. 82-152; JAI, X, 1881 pp. 60 ff.
35. Konow thinks that the country of Tahia was not fully conquered by Yueh-Chih at the time of Chang K'ien visit and the full conquest was achieved

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after his departure and before A.D. 28. *CII*, part I, Vol. I, p. LXV; also Tarn WW, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 277; Hirth is of the same opinion and says that as late as 115 B.C. Chang K'ien distinguished between the Yueh-Chih and Tahia as separate political institutes. JAOS 1917 p. 1917 p. 96; Narain A.K. states that the Yueh Chih occupied only those parts of Bactrian kingdom which lay north of Oxus. They had defeated the Tahia without actually occupying their lands and contended themselves for a time with the receipt of tribute *Indo Greeks* pp. 138-148; *Lohuizen* De Leeuw S.P.I.H. pp. 31-32.

But Maehchau Halfen asserts that the view of the gradual expansion of the Yueh Chih power from the country North of Oxus is unfounded. "The Yueh-Chih Problem Re-examined" JAOS 65 pp. 71-81.

36. This discrepancy was first noticed by the Japanese scholar Kuwahara Jitzuzo. In his opinion Fan ye, the author of Hon-Han-Shu misunderstood the T'sien-Han-Shu account. The five hi-hou already existed in Tahia when the Yueh-Chih invaded it and for the time being they became the dependent of Yueh-Chih, but shortly after hundred years one of them asserted it independence and founded an independent kingdom (cf—JAOS, Vol. 65, 1945 pp. 71.72). This theory was accepted by Haneda "A proposdes Ta Yue—tche et des Kuei Choung"—Bulletin de la Maison franco Japonaise 1933 pp. 1-1p and P.C. Bagchi. "The Role of Central Asian Hordes in the History of India" Presidential address—Ancient India Section I Indian History Congress Session Aligarh 1943 pp. 35-39; Puri B.N. *India Under Kushāṇas* p. 6.

Sten Konow "Notes on Indo Scythian Chronology J.I.H. 1933 pp. 13-14 and Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India* p. 287 note 4, maintains Kuei Shuang were a part of Yueh-Chih horde. According to Tarn, the Yueh-Chih were composed of two different people Asii and Tochari and Asii were the dominant element representing Kuei Shuang. Narain A.K. is of the view that Yueh Chih were Tocharians and Kuei Shuang being a component of Yueh Chih were also Tocharis and in no case Śakas—*Indo Greeks* p. 132.

Maenchan Helfen Otto refers to Śaka Kushāna as a part of Yueh-Chi race. "The Yueh Chi Problem re-examined" J.A.O.S. 65 pp. 71-81. The same is the view hold by Rahul Samkrityayan, *Madhya Aśia Kā Itihāsa* p. 196.

37. XI 8.4.

38. Bachhoff L. 'On Greeks and Sakas in India", JAOS. 65 pp. 243-4; Charpentier Z.D.M.G. 1917 pp. 366-370 (cited in Narain A.K. *Indo Greeks* p. 132).

39. Prologuo XLI.

40. Tarn WW—identifies Asii with the dominant and important constituent of the Yueh-Chih also included Tochari *GIB*, pp. 280 & 281; Lohuizeu—de—Leeuw believes that Yueh-Chih were Tocharians and Asii alias Asiani forming their dominating stratum. (*The Scythian Period* p. 38) At another place she

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suggests that Asii remained also known outside their boundaries as Tochari that is Tukhara (*ibid* p. 43); Van Windekens suggests that the word Arsii mean while was used to indicate the rulers of Tochari and subsequently the people over whom they ruled (quoted from *Scythian Period* p. 43).

41. Narain A.K. *Indo Greeks*, p. 132; Bachhoffer L. "On Greeks and Śakas in India" JAOS 65 pp. 243-4; Bailey W.H. BSOS VIII 1935 Calls Tocharians Taugara and identifies them with Yueh Chih pp. 883 ff; Rahul Saṁkrityayan. *Madhya Aśia Ka Itihāsa* p. 188; Haloun, ZDMG 91 (1932) pp. 243 ff.
42. Prologue, 42 XLII.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *CII*, Vol. II Part I pp. XXI-XXII.
45. The identification of the Tocharians has also been a subject of discussion. Sylvain Levi identifies Tocharians with Yueh-Chih and enumerates various Chinese sources. A Chinese Sutra refers to the simultaneous domination of Yapono (Yavanas=Greeks) in the north, the Che Kia (Sakas=Scythians) in the South, the Po-la-po (Pahlava=Parthian) in the west and Tein Cha lo (Tochares) in the east (Notes Sur less Indo Scythes J.A. 1897 p. 10).
According to Marquart, the Tochares are the Tahia, living in the country which Huen Tsang called old Tou-hou-lo or Tukharistan in the middle of Oxus, 300 k.m. to the east Khotan (*Eranshar* p. 200) Aurel Stein finds no relation between the imigration of the Yueh Chin and the old Tou-hou-lo (*Serindia* p. 287).
The Tochares seem to be known to the west a long before Yueh-Chih came on the scene.
46. According to Bagchi, the Tahia of Han Annals was pronounced in early times as D'a(t)—ga and stood in all probability for Dogara or Tukhara which is termed in the 5th cent as Tu-hu-lo or To-xuo-lo. The king of that country sent an ambassador to China 43, 457, 465 A.D. "The Role of Central Asian Hordes in the History of India" I.H.C. p. 36.
47. *Ibid*; Puri B.N., *India under the Kusāṇas*, p. 6; Chatterjee B. "The Tukharas in Ancient India" Seminar on the foreigner's in Ancient India—Calcutta 1968 pp. 60-65.
48. Some of the early Purāṇas give Tukhāra as a variation of Tusāra, both the names being the same. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* pp. 44-46 and 72.
49. *Ibid.*
50. The Matsya Purāṇa assigns them a period of seven thousand years which seems a mistake for hundred and seven years. Vāyu and Brahmāṇda Purāna give them hundred and five years. Pargiter, *op. cited.*
51. Kishkindhākānda 44.15.
52. Vanaparva, L1. 19-91; CL XXVII—123.50; Shāntiparva LXV 24-29.
53. CXV-42.

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54. Pargiter, *Dynasties of Kali Age* pp. 44 & 72; Bachhoffer, L. "On Greeks and Sakas in India" JAOS; Bailey H.W. "Six Indo Iranian notes," Transactions of Philological society 1952 p. 64; Bagchi "The Role Central Asian Hordes played in the History of India" I.H.C. 1943 p. 36.
55. Bagchi is of the view that the original home of Tukhāras was the upper valley of the Oxus in the region of Badakshan *op. cite.*, p. 36; This area was the heartland of the Kushāna empire, Rosenfield. *The Dynastic Arts of Kushanas* p. 8.
56. Bagchi, *op. cited*, p. 36; Puri B.N. *India Under Kushāṇas*, p. 6.
57. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushanas*, p. 8.
    However, the name Tocharian does not appear in any Kushāna dynastic inscriptions or on coins. Moreover in no ancient source, it is directly or explicitly associated with the Kushāṇas. Maenchen Halfen, "The Yueh-Chih Problem re examined" JAOS 65 pp. 77 ff.
    Kushāṇa or Kuei Shuang was not an ethinic name and hence Sanskrit sources do not mention it but retain the name Tukhāra. Bagchi *op. cited.*, p. 37.
58. Sabhāparva 2.24; 22-27; Ādiparva 1.60-30; Udyogparva 5-4-15.
59. Buddha Prakash *India and the World* p. 219. Motichandra—*Trade and Trade routes of Ancient India* pp. 93.99. The Uttarrishikas or Paramsishikas are the Ta Yueh Chih of the Chinese source; ————Jayachandra—*Bharat Bhumi Aur Us Ke Nivasi.* Vikram Samvat 1987 p. 313.
60. Sten Konow—CII Vol. II part I p. LXII.
61. Rapson *Cambridge History of India* p. 583. The passing of Pahlava rule to Kushānas in Taxila is illustrated by a hoard of twenty one small coins found by John Marshall in an earthen jar on the ancient site of Sirkap. The coins belong to four distinct classes, two belonging to the reign of Gondophares, one each to the reign of Pacores and Vima Kadphises.
62. Rapson *Indian Coins* p. 16; Loheuzen de Leew. *The Scythina Period* p. 364; Girshman *Begram* pp. 123-244 Bachhoffer, *op. cited.*
63. 118.90.
64. Rapson CHI p. 583; Jenkins G.K. "Indo Scythic Mints" JNSI XVII Part III 1955 pp. 1-26; Thomas "Sakasthan J.R.A.S. 1906; Puri B.N. *India Under the Kushanas* p. 17 Narain thinks that it is likely that earlier in his reign Harmeaus lost his possessions north of Hindu Kush to Yueh Chih, perhaps to an ancestor of Kujula, who may have been Heraus. *Indo Greeks* pp. 159-60.
65. Sometimes located in North of Arachosia, while other indentify it with Balkh. It seems probable that Puta cannot have been too distant from Kabul and Kipin. Konow CII, Vol II, Part I. P L. XIV.
66. Identity is uncertain possibly Gandhāra and lower Swat valley.
67. Marquart—Eransahr pp. 208 ff.

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68. In its last line appears the name Erjuna Kapa (Erjuna being an old Scythian title for a prince). As all evidence suggests that Kushānas succeeded Parthian dynasty of Gondophares, Erjuna Kapa might possibly refer to Kujula Kadphises and the inscription might have belonged to the time of the transition of power. The likelihood is not very certain Sten Konow, CII, PL. XVI pp. 61-62.
69. CII pp. 67-70.
70. *Ibid.*
71. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushanas* p. 15.
72. Basham A.L.—"The succession of the line of Kaniska BSOAS XX 1957 pp. 83.84. He thinks that Vima was the brother of Kujula.
73. Hou-Han-Shu records that Yen-Kao-Tchen again conquered India and appointed a Viceroy. This reference has been taken to mean that Kushāṇas were Śakas and their Victory was considered as repeating the deeds of their forerunners. The viceroy appointed by him was no other than Western Kshtrapas. Konow CII pp. LXVII & LXVIII also "Notes on the Indo Scythian Chronology" J.I.H.XII 1933 pp 34-5, Kennedy 'Date of Kanishka' JRAS 1913 p. 927; Bachhoffer JAOS 61 (1945) p. 250; B.N. Puri *op. cited.*, p. 20. Bhaudaji "The inroads of the Scythians in India..." J.B.B.R.A.S. IX 1872. Jayaswal K.P. 'Problems of Śaka Sātavāhana History XVI, 1930 pp. 233 ff.
But some other scholars do not accept this version of Hou-Han Shu as according to the recent translations of Enoki Kazuo (quoted in Narain, *Indo-Greeks* p. 131) this reads as "Yen Kao Tchen" destroyed T'ien Chou and not again conquered.
Zürcher E. "The Yueh-Chih and Kanishka in the Chinese Source" Seminar on the date of Kanishka, University of London April 1960 p. 17.
74. Rapson E. CHI p. 584—T'ien-Chou denotes North Western India; Sten Know identifies it with Indus the old stronghold of Śaka empire in India CII. *op. cit.*, p. LXVII.
75. Konow Sten—CII p. 79 but his reading was vigorously attacked by Rapson "Review of Sten Konow, Kharoshthi inscription", J.R.A.S. 1930 p. 191. who took it to be the inscription of some mountain King. But recent scholars tend to recognise this as belonging to Vima's reign. Basham AL. "The succession of the line of Kanishka," BSOAS XX (1957) pp 77-88.
76. Banerjee J.N. also ascribes to Vima the reference in the reference in the Taxilā Silver Scroll inscription dated in the year 136 of a Mahārāja rajādhirāja devaputra Kushāṇa. "The title Devaputra on Kuyula Kara Kadphises coins" IX J.N.S.I. 1946 p. 80.
77. The Shrine is attributed to Huvishka's grand father (pitāmah) who is described as *sacha dharma thidasa.* Rosenfield thinks that in all likelihood he is Vima—*The Dynastic Arts of the Kushanas* p. 19 but in the present state

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of knowledge this relationship cannot be ascertained. Moreover this was the title used by Kadphises I.

78. Rapson—*Indian Coins* p. 6.
79. *Ibid*; White head P.M.C. p. 160 ff and Sten Konow—CII Vol. II Part I, p. LXIX.
80. Marshall ASIAR 1912-13 p. 8. He is of the opinion that these coins were issued by two Kings; Sircar D.C. *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II pp 140-41; Puri B.N. *India Under the Kushāṇas* p. 24.
Grishman has found an unique silver coin, in the collection of Azis Beglou, Tehran, the obverse of which bears a portrait of Vima identified by the corrupt Greek legend and the reverse shows a standing prince holding a lance, identified in Greek as Kanishka. Behind him is the same monogram as that of Soter Megas coins. On the basis of this coin find Grishman concludes that Soter Megas coins were minted by Kanishka under that name and he was the viceroy of Wima Kadphises referred to in Hou-Han-Shu. *Cahiers III* (1957) p. 631 ff.
81. According to Fleet Kanishka was a predecessor of Kujula and Vima and founded the era of 58 B.C. 'The use of the era of 58 B.C. J.R.A.S.' 1907 and also "The Date of Kanishka" J.R.A.S. 1913. But this was not accepted by most of the scholars in view of the explicit information given in the Chinese sources that Kujula was the first Kushāṇa King and Vima his son was the first King of the line to have conquered India, Kennedy 'Secret of Kanishka' J.R.A.S. 1912, pp. 920-939;
Thomas "Date of Kanishka" J.R.A.S. 1913, pp. 627ff.
82. Konow, CII, p. LXXVI; Konow, "Notes on Indo Scythian chronology" J.I.H. XII, 1933, p. 139, Marshall, "Greeks and Sakas in India" J.R.A.S. 1947; Puri B.N., *India Under Kushāṇas*, pp. 27-28, Lohuizen de Leeuw *op. cited.*, p. 379. Grishman, *Cahiers*—III. 1957, pp. 689-722.
83. Konow, CII, p. LXXV. He supports his theory on the basis of a Tibetan tradition. Against this arguments is Khotanese Sanskrit text found at Tun-Huang which describes Kanishka as the king of Balkh. Bailey, "Kanishka" JRAS, pp. 14-18.
84. Girshman, *Begram*, pp. 142-44.
85. Different dates have been suggested by various scholars, the main among them are—
    1. 128. A.D. Sten Konow CII, Vol. II, part I, p. LXXVII, and Van Wijk. *Acta Orientalia*, III, (1924), pp. 52-91, *cited*, in Konow.
    2. 144. A.D. Girshman. First appeared in J. A. 1943-45 pp. 59-71 and later expanded in his 'Begram' 1957 p. 713; Puri B.N. India *Under Kushāṇas*, p. 49.
    3. 110 & 115 A.D. Narain—'Date of Kanishka' Seminar on the date of Kanishka, University of London 1960, p. 23: Rosenfield *op, cited* Appendix

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I, pp. 257-58.

4. 78 A.D. Rapson, CHI, p. 582, Lohiuzen de Leeuw *op cited* p. 318; Sircar D.C. *History and Culture of the Indian people.* Vol. II, p. 147.

86. Rosenfield—*op. cit*, p. 40.
87. Rosenfield—*op. cit*, p. 27.
88. Mathura has yielded about 150 inscriptions citing Kushāṇa rulers, officials and dates; there was a Kushāṇa dynastic sanctuary in the area and great number of terracota figures, many donor effigies which all reflect the presence of the Kushāṇas that region. B.N. Mukherjee; the Disintegration of the Kushāṇa Empire, pp. 1-6.
89. Marshall, *Taxila*, pp. 216-222; the Kharosthi inscriptions at Zeda, Und, Manikiala show Kushāṇa occupation of Western Punjab. Sten Konow, CII, Vol. II, part I, pp. 67, 162. 145 and 171. Great quantity of Kushāṇa coins have been found in this part. The find of Kaniska reliquary from the stupa of Kanishka at Peshawar and numerous art objects of Gandhāra style prove this B.N. Mukherjee *op. cited.*
90. Girshman, *Begram*, Vol. I, 1946 p. 2.
91. Schlumberger Daniel, "Le temple de Surkhkotal on Bactriana." J.A. 1952, pp. 533, 543 and 1954 pp. 161-205; 1955 pp. 269-280; Rosenfield. *The Dynastic Arts of Kushanas* pp. 154-172.
92. Hou-Han-Shu, especially tells of Yueh-Chih occupation of Kabul (Kao-fu) after Parthians. This is supported by the archeological evidence of the find of the inscribed Buddhist stupa at Wardhak, 30 miles away from Kabul, and a number of Kushāṇa coins.
93. The information of Huen-Tsang that Kapiśā was the summer capital of Kanishka (Beal translation pp. 54-58) and the rich archaeological finds of Begram show unmistable Kushāṇa occupation of the place.
94. The find of Kanishka reliquary (CII, pp. 135-136) and a number of art objects of Gandhāra sculpture, Buddhist stupas of Hadda, Bimran and Jalalabad (Rosenfield *op. cited.*, p. 48).
95. Sui Vihar inscription of the year 11 of Kanishka (CII p. 138) indicates Kuśhāṇa control over Sindh although it is not clear whether or not the Kushāṇas at the mouth of the Indus (Rosenfield *op. cited* pp. 49).
96. Khalatse inscription of the year 187 (Konow CII, pp. 79-81) and the Buddhist stupa and monastry at Harwan and the strong literary evidence which includes Kasmir in the Kushāṇa empire (Rajtarangini I pp. 168-173), Chinese *Toung Pao*, VI, pp. 540-46) and Buddhist traditions associate Kanishka with the Buddhist council of Kashmir.
97. About 239 A.D. Wei-Luch indicated that Balkh was still in the hands of Ta Yueh-Chih (*Toung Poa*, IV, pp. 538-539). Besides the excavations of Russian archeologists excavated an enormous Buddhist sanctuary at Kara-tepe in Old

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Termez of the Kuśhāṇa Period (Bonard G.M. and Stavisky B.Y., "Central Asia in Kushāṇa period," Kushan Studies in U.S.S,R.) A musoleum relating to Kushana period has also been found in North of Termez, Containing skulls, human bones and some pottery of that deriod, Mukherjce, B.N above cited. He feels that Bactria was most important part of the Kushana Empire.

98. Bonard G.M. and Stavisky B.Y. "Central Asia in the Kushana period—Archaeological Studies by Soviet Scholars." Kushan Studies in U.S.S.R. pp. 40 and 41.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
100. Albaum L.I. "Archaeological Expedition in Surkham Darya region in 1955", Kushana Studies in U.S.S.R. pp. 55-58.
101. *Ibid.*
102. *Ibid.*
103. The archaeological excavations carried on in this region by Sir Aurel Stein in 1907. Albert Grünwedel and others yielded a wealth of literary and artistic material.
104. Maenchen Helfen Otto maintains that the Kushāṇas "gave their name" to a number of towns in Sogdiana and particularly in the Tarimbasin e.g. the present *Kushan Ata* west of Samarkand was originally *Kuei Shuang*-ni; Kucha, the important oasis town: *Kao Chang* present *Kara Khojo*, thirty miles east of Turfan. "The Yueh Chih Problem reexamined" J.A.O.S. 65 (1945) pp. 75-77.
105. ASIR 1904-5 pp. 78 ff; E.I. Vol. VIII, pp. 179 ff, Mukherjee B.N. above cited p. 8-11.
106. There is a legend that Aṣvaghośa lived at the court of Pātaliputra. However, that monarch was defeated by Kanishka and was obliged to purchase peace at the price of 900,000 pieces of gold. Unable to pay this heavy ransom he surrendered to his conquerer, the begging bowl of Buddha, a marvellous cock which would not drink water containing live insects and the learned Aṣvaghośa—Levi Svlyn—"Asvaghosa" I.A. 1908 p. 83. According to him Aṣvaghośa was not taken from Pātaliputra but Sāketa and he was the sole aim of this invasion.

Kushāṇa coins have been found at Bhita (A.S.I.A.R 1911-12, pp. 34-63) Pataliputra (1912-13 pp. 79-84). Three Kushāṇa coins have been found in North Bengal (J.A.S.B. 1932 p. 127). A hoard of Kushāṇa coins from the time of Vima Kadphises to Vāsudeva was found at Buxar. Altekar "Buxar hoard of Kushāṇa coins" J.N.S.I. XII, pp. 121 ff. Mukherjee B.N. p. 28.

107. Banerji S.C. "Kushāṇas in Eastern India", J.N.S.I. XII 1961 pp. 107-9; Gupta P.L. "The date of Kushāṇa Currency in Eastern India" J.N.S.I. XV 1953 pp. 185-192; "Coins of Kanishka Huvishk in two hoards" ASIR" 1924-25 pp. 130-132.

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108. Sircar D.C.—*The History & Culture of the Indian people*, Vol. II p. 165; Gupta P.L. "The Yaudheyas J.O.P.H.S. XXIII 1950 pp. 169-174.
109. Gafurov B. "Kushan Civilization and World Culture" Kushan Studies in U.S.S.R. p. 3.
110. Gafurov B "Kushan Civilization and World Culture", Kushan Studies in U.S.S.R. p. 3.
111. Graeco-Bactrian Kings who issued gold coins were Diodotus(?) Euthydemus and Eukratides who minted an unique twenty stater medallion, the largest gold coin of antiquity and possibly Menander. Narain A.K. *Indo Greeks* p. 62.
112. Only one Silver coin of Kushāṇas is found. Gardener, P.M.C.P. 126 pl. XXVII.
113a. Dikshit SK. "The problem of the Kushāṇas and the origin of the Vikram Samvat" ABORI XXXIV (1953) p. 87 &
Maity, Sachindra Kumar—"The Gold content of the Kushāṇa, Chieftains and the Sassanian Gold coins from the Indian Museum, J.N.S.I. XX (1958) pp. 162.171.
113b. Mukherjee B.N. The Disintegration of the Kushāṇa Empire, p. 4.
114. The Imperial Gazetter of India (New Edition p. 139).
115. *Ibid.*
116. Kennedy; "The Secret of Kanishka" J.R.A.S. 1912 p. 981 ff.
117. J.N. Banerjee in *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 791.
118. Rapson—*Indian Coins* p. 13, Mukherjee, B.N.—above cited p. 5.
119. Sircar D.C. *History and Culture of the Indian People* Vol. II p. 147.
120. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushana* p. 70.
121. *Ibid*; The deification of the Kushāṇa Kings was a well known fact. Even before the rise of Kushāṇas the idea of royal divinity was wide spread in China, Iran, Western Asia and among Romans. In India the idea of the divinity of the King occurs for the first time in Manu Smṛiti (C200 BC-200 AD) which was largely due to the foreign impact.
Yadav B.N.S.—Kushan Studies—1968. Seminar held by Deptt. of Ancient History Culture and Archaeology of Allahabad University 1968 p. 1.
122. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. XII pp. 760 ff.
123. Tarn WW. *Greeks in Bactria and India* p. 90; Narain A.K. *Indo Greeks* pp. 146-147.
124. Rosenfield believes that the flaming shoulders depicted on the coin portrait of the Kushāṇa Kings and the colossal statues of Vima and Kanishka found at Mathurā represent superhuman or divine character of the Kushāṇa Kings *op. cited*, pp. 197, 208.
125. Yadava B.N.S. *op. cited*, p. 2.

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126. Rosenfield; *The Dynastic Art of the Kushāṇas* p. 70.
127. *Ibid.*
128. Banerjee J.N. in *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II (ed. Sastri) p. 791.
129. Gafurov, "Kushan Civilization and the world Culture" Kushana Studies USSR p. 10.
130. Gafurov B, "Kushana Civilization and the World Culture; Kushana St udi USSR p. 8.
131. *Ibid.*
132. Aalto Penitii, "On the role of Central Asia in the spread of Indian Culture and Influence" ICWTC p. 250.
133. Gafurov B, "Kushan Civilization and World Culture" Kushan Studies in USSR p. 8.
134. De Anil Silva, "The Spice and Silk Roads" ICWTC p. 303.
135. Penitii Aalto, *op. cited*, p. 250.
136. Gafurov B, *op. cited*, p. 11.
137. *Ibid*; Banard Levin and Stavisky, "Central Asia in Kushana period "Kushan Studies in USSR pp. 49, 50; Grishman, Begram.
138. Wheeler Mortimer, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, p. 102.
139. Warmington E.H. *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 15.
140. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 14.
141. *Ibid.*
142. *Ibid*; Motichandra, *Trade and trade routes in Ancient India* p. 110.
143. *Ibid.*
144. Warmington, *op. cited*; Motichandra, *op. cited.*
145. Warmington, *op. cited*, p. 96.
146. *Ibid.*
147. The discovery of monsoon winds is attributed to Hippalus, during the reign of Claudius. By a strange mischance an Indian sailer mistook his course and reached Egypt half dead. The Greeks in Egypt nourished him back to health and the Indian ingratitude piloted Hippalus back to India along the monsoon routes. While the knowledge of these winds was probably new to the Greeks, the Indian and the Arabians had known and made use of them for centuries.
148. Warmington *op. cited*, pp. 44-52, Motichandra *op. cited*, p. 120.
149. Rawlinson *Intercourse between India and the Western World* p. 90-91.
150. Warmington, *op. cited*, p. 53, Motichandra, *op. cited*, p. 112; Periplus 3.
151. Periplus, 39.
152. Periplus, 43, 49.
153. Periplus, 53.
154. Periplus 54, 55; Warmington E.H., *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, pp. 9 & 10; Motichandra, *Trade and Trade routes in*

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Ancient India, pp. 115-119.

155. Warmington *op. cited*; Motichandra, *op. cited*; Periplus, 56-59 & 62.
156. Pliny, Nat Hist. VI.26.
157. Motichandra, *op. cited*, pp. 123-28, Rawlinson, *Intercourse Between India and the Western World*, p. 8.
158. Motichandra, *op. cited*, pp. 124-28.
159. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
160. Anil De Silva, "The Spice and Silk Road" ICWTC, p. 301.
161. Nat Hist—XII 14.
162. Pliny Nat Hist XII.13, 14.
163. Motichandra, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India* pp. 111 and 127-128. Warmington E.H. *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, pp. 261-272.
164. Rawlinson—*Intercourse Between India and the Western World*, p. 8; Warmington, *op. cited*, pp. 66-67.
165. Motichandra *op. cit.*, p. 111. Warington *op. cited*, pp. 272-74.
166. Nat Hist XII 13, 14 94, 95; 28, 29.
167. Göbl Robert—"Roman Patterns for Kushana coins"—J.N.S.I. Vol. XXII (1960) pp. 78-79.
168. The trade between Rome and India was carried through intermediaries such as Alexandrian, Greeks, Syrian and Jewish merchants and some of them had settled in India. Warmington—*The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, pp. 68 & 77-79.

    In a Roman papyrus of the 1st cent A.D. the letter of a woman named *Indicon* appears, which she had written to her friend. This Indicon was perhaps the wife of some Alexandrian Greek who had settled in India (Moti Chandra *op. cit.*, p. 120). This Indicon may have been the daughter of an Egyptian Greek merchant from his Indian wife who was named thus after the country of their adoption. Warmington *op. cit.*, p. 68.
169. Rawlinson *Intercourse Between India and the Western World*, p. 174.
170. Motichandra—*Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*, p. 120.
171. De Silva Aml—"The Spice and Silk Roads" ICWTC p. 302.
172. Warmington—*The Commerce Between Roman Empire and India*, p. 58; De Silva Aml *op. cit.*, p. 302.
173. Orations, XXXII, 373 & XLIX, 538. He mentions that Indian Brahmins excel in self control righteousness and love of god.
174. Motichandra—*Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India* pp. 120-2.
175. Strabo, XV, 1.73.
176. Saletore, B.A., *India's Diplomatic Relations with the West*; p. 230.
177. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization* p. 82.
178. Rawlinson *op. cited*, p. 107.

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179. This embassy was sent by Vima Kadphises or Kanishka when the conquest of Mesopotamia had brought the Roman and Indian empires within 600 miles of one another. *Rawlinson—Intercourse between India and the Western World* p. 107.
180. Saletore B.A. *India's Diplomatic Relations with the West*, pp. 210.67.
181. Warmington E.H. *The Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, p. 143.
182. Hippolytus died as a martyr in 255 A.D. He was one of the most prolific writers of the early Church and was elected rival Bishop of Rome in 217 A.D. by those people who were opposed to Pope Callistus.
183. Filliozot "La Doctrine des Brahmans d'apre's St Hippolyte." Revue de l'histoire des Religions (1945), pp. 59-61, *cited* in *Buddha Prakash, India and the World.* He has discussed the work and the doctrines of Upanishads referred to in that in great detail, pp. 260-66.
184. Grishman R. *Begram*...p. 153.
185. Gufarov B.—"Kushan Culture and the World Civilization,"—Kushan Studies in U.S.S.R., p. 9.
186. Wilhelm Holmqvist, Acta Archaeologica, XXV (Copenhagen 1954); Viking (Oslo 1957-58) *cited* in Budh Prakash, *Indian and the World*, p. 268.
187. *Ibid.*
188. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. vii, pp. 53-54: Louis de la Vallee Poussin, L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares, Grees, Scythes, Parthes et Yue-tchi, pp. 283-284.
189. Gibbon Edward. *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, III CL. XXVI (London), p. 312.
190. Buddha Prakash—*India and the World*, p. 268; *Aspects of Indian History & Civilization*, p. 3.
191. Groslier B.P., *Indo China* p. 9; De Silva Anil, "The Spice and Silk Roads." I.C.W.T.C., p. 302.
192. Nat Hist VII. 2, 22, 24, 26, 28. The full second section of the 7th part is about the ports of South East Asia. It is said that some Greek merchants had also settled in some places of South East Asia. Motichandra, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*, p. 122, 23.
193. Warmington—*The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, pp. 120.
194. Majumdar R.C. *Indian Colonies in the far East*, Vol. II, p. 8-9; *The History and Culture of the Indian people*, Vol. II, p. 651.
195. Motichandra, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*, p. 122.
196. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 27, Prakash Charan Prasad, *Foreign Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, pp. 151, 152; *The History & Culture of the Indian people*, p. 653, 654.
197. This is an extremely rare type of coin, however 78 specimen were found at Sirkap (Taxila) where they might have been minted. Marshall, *Taxila*, pp. 785,

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844. White head and Smith agree that the figure on these coins represents Buddha (*P.M.C.*, pp. 181-82; No. 29, 30 in *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museums* Vol. II, p. 66) but Banerjee J.N. is of the opinion that no certain representation of Buddha in human form appears on the coins before Kanishka. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 112.

198. Hsuan-t'sang—*Beal's translation*, Vol. I, pp. 156ff.

199. Various schools prevailed at that time the Sarvāstvadins, Mahāsanghikās, Dharma-guptakās, Yogāchārya, Madhyamikās, Mahāyāna, Hinyāna, Lokottarvadins Bhikshusūtrikas as evidenced from the various epigraphs of the period and literary sources. Puri B.N. *India Under Kushāṇas* pp. 141-146.

200. This council is also referred to by Parmārtha in the life of Vasubandhu. According to this source the council was the meeting of Mahāyān and Hinyān school and was presided by Aśvaghoṣa (*T'oung Pao* (1904) p. 269ff).
Tarānāth, the Tibetan writer calls this council the third and not the fourth which recognized all the eighteen sects holding true doctrine (Kern, *Indian Buddhism* p. 121 *cited* by Konow CII, Vol. II, part I, p. LXXIX).

201. Göbl Robert—*Die Munzpragung*...p. 191.

202. Göbl Robert—"Roman Patterns for the Kushana Coins" J.N.S.I. XXII (1960) pp. 78-79.

203. Rosenfield—*The Dynastic Art of the Kushaṇas* p. 30.

204. Satya-ketu Vidyalankar—*Brihattar Bharata*, p. 143; Rosenfield, *ibid.*

205. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization* p. 90.

206. Gafurov, "Kushana Civilization and World Culture" Kushan Studies in U.S.S.R. p. 18.

207. Pentti Aalto, "On the Role of Central Asia in the Spread of Indian Cultural Influence" ICWTC p. 249.

208. *Ibid.*

209. *Ibid.*

210. Hiuen-Tsang, Beal Translation pp. 54, 58.

211. Dikshit K.N. "Buddhist Centres in Afganistan ICWTC pp. 229, 237; Goshal U.N. "Indian Culture in Afganistan" IGI 1960 (Bombay) p. 274.

212. Ghoshal "Indian Culture in Afganistan" IGI (Bombay 1960) p. 274.

213. The history of Buddhism in Central Asia is dated from the time of Graeco Bactrian Kings, although the knowledge of the teachings of Buddha and some Buddhist concepts may have found their way here earlier in Achaemenian era. Herzfield E. *Zoroaster and his World*, Vol. II, p. 629.

214. Kosambi, D.—The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline p. 112-13. Letvinsky B.A. "India and Soviet Central Asia" p. 263.

215. Bongard G.M. & Stavisky By, "Central Asia in Kushan period" Kushan Studies in USSR p. 45; Singhal, *India & the World Civil.* 274.

216. Koshelenko G. "The Beginning of Buddhism in Margiana", *cited* in Litvinsky

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B.A. "India and the Soviet Central Asia" I.C.W.T.C. p. 264.

217. He was a Parthian Crown prince and also a great scholar and astronomer, who abdicated in favour of his uncle and dedicated himself to the religious life. During the Kushāṇa period An—Shiko went to China, to preach Buddhism. There he founded a school of translator known for its excellence as unrivalled in the systematic representation of Buddhism. He himself translated more than a hundred Buddhist texts of which only fiftyfive are available. It was at this school that the first Chinese Buddhist monk Yen-Fa-t'iao or Buddhadeva learned Sanskrit. Singhal *India and the World Civilization*, p. 42.
218. Nārāyaṇa the Buddha, is mentioned in the Khotanese Śaka documents of Eastern Turkistan and Nārāyaṇ, the Deva, occurs in Buddhist Sogdian documents, in Central Asia Litvinsky B.A. "Outline of Buddhism in Central Asia," Kushan Studies in U.S.S.R. p. 8.
219. Belenitsky B.M. and Litvinsky B.A. "Spread of Buddhism in Central Asia" Kushana Studies in U.S.S.R. p. 19; Bongard and Stavistky B.Y." Central Asia in Kushan period". Kushan Studies in U.S.S.R. p. 48. Bagchi, *India and China* p. 29.
220. Litvinsky B.A. "India and Soviet Central Asia," I.C.W.T.C. p. 267.
221. *Ibid.*, Singhal *India and the World Civilization* p. 276.
222. Bailey H.W. "Tarmita" B.S.O.S. (1950) Vol. XIII, Part II pp. 400-403. Bagchi, *India and China* p. 32.
223. A. Foucher, L'art greco-boundhique due Gandhara, Vol. II/2 (Paris 1922) p. 644.

223a. Singhal, *India and the World Civilization* p. 275; Pentti Aalto, On Role of Central Asia in the Spread of Cultural Influence. I.C.W.I.C. p. 249.

224. Singhal *op. cited*, Pentti Aalto *op. cited*, Bagchi P.C. *India and China*, p. 29.
225. Pentti Aalto *op. cited*, p. 250.
226. Göbl Robert, "Roman Patterns for the Kushan coins" J.N.S.I. XXII (1960), pp. 76-96; Litvinsky B.A. "India and Soviet Central Asia" I.C.W.I.C., p. 261.
227. Banerjee P., "Hindu Deities in Central Asia" I.C.W.I.C., p. 281.
228. Bhattacharya, Chaya, "India a Major Source of Central Asian Art" I.C.W.I.C., pp. 290, 293, Belenitsky B.M. and Litrvinsky B.A. "Outline of Buddhism in Central Asia." Kushan Studies in U.S.S.R., pp. 14, 20.
229. Buddha Prakash, "Some Social Aspects of Buddhism in China." I.C.W.T.C., p. 335, Penttii Aalto, "Role of Central Asia in the Spread of Indian Cultural Influence" I.C.W.T.C., p. 260.
230. According to a local tradition Khotan was founded by the exiled Gandhara subjects of King Aśoka. The first Indian King to have founded the Kingdom was Vijita Saṁbhava. He introduced Buddhism in Khotan. Sten Aurel.

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Khotan, Vol. II, pp. 156 ff.

231. Penttii Aalto "On the Role..." ICWTC, p. 249.
232. This area was first explored and excavated by Sir Aurel Stein in 1907, closely followed by Sven Hedin, Paul Pelliot, A Grünwedel, Avo Le Cog and many others. These excavations reveal a picture of most alive and vibrant culture enjoyed by people from about 2nd cent B.C. to 10th cent A.D.
233. C. Shivram Murti and Krishna, "Indian Scripts and Languages in Asian Countries" ICWTC, pp. 208, 210.
234. Rowland Benjamin Jr., "Art along the Silk Road and a reappraisal of Central Asian Art, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 25, pp. 256-57.
235. Bussaglio Mario, *Paintings of Central Asia.*
236. Rowland Benjamin Jr. *op cited*, pp. 270-75.
237. Agrawal R.C. "Some Aspects of Indian Culture in the Kharoṣthī Documents from the Chinese Turkistan" ICWTC, pp. 275-281.
238. According to one story Buddhist missionaries visited the court of T'sin Emperor She-Huang in 121 B.C. There is another story that the Yueh-Chih ruler of the Oxus valley presented some Buddhist text to the Chinese Emperor in the 2nd cent B.C.
239. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 31; H. Sakkar, "Buddhist contact of China" ICWTC p. 327; Litvinsky B.A. "India and Soviet Central Asia," ICWTC, p. 267.
240. Supra p. 82.
241. Shigo Komata, "Cultural Exchange Between India, China and Japan" ICWTC, p. 316.
242. Raghuvir, "Cultural Relation of India and Korea" ICWTC, p. 341.
243. Shigo Komata, *op. cited* p. 323.
244. Penitti Aalto "On the Role of Central Asia in the Spread of Indian Cultural Influence" ICWTC, p. 260.
245. *Ibid.*
246. Budha Prakash—"Some Social Aspects of Buddhism in China" ICWTC p. 335; Shigo Kamta—"Cultural Exchange Between India, China & Japan" ICWTC p. 315.
247. Budha Prakash *op cited*; Singhal—*India and the World Civilization*, p. 90; Penittii Aalto, *op cited* p. 260.
248. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushanas*, p. 228.
249. *Ibid.*
250. *Ibid*; Rawlinson H.G. *India*, p. 97.
251. Rawlinson, *op cited.*
252. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushanas*, p. 228.
253. Rawlinson H.G., *India*, p. 97.
254. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushanas*, p. 228.
255. Soper A., *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist of China*, p. 138.

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256. Zamyad Yast, XIX, 88-90; Rosenfield, *op. cited.*
257. De Mallmann, Introduction to l'etude d' Avalokiteśvara, pp. 85-95, *cited* in Rosenfield, *op cited.*
258. Rosenfield, *op cited.*
259. Soper Alexander, *op. cited*, pp. 141-165.
260. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushanas*, p. 228.
261. *Ibid*, Rawlinson H.G. *India*, p. 97.
262. Srivastava V.C. *Sun Worship in Ancient India*, p. 298; Coomaraswami, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 66.
263. Stein M. *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins*, pp: 156-166.
264. Banerjea, *J.N. Development of Hindu Iconography* pp. 132-44.
265. *Ibid*; pl XXVIII, fig 3; The date of this image is controversial, Coomarswami, *op. cited*, p. 51.
266. Coomarswami, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 66.
267. Agrawal V.C. Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art, JUPHS, 1949, Vol. XXII, p. 167.
268. Agrawal V.C. *op cited*, p. 167.
269. V.C. Shrivastava, *Sun Worship in Ancient India*, p. 298.
270. Pingala is the Sin dispelling fire of Sūrya and is equated with Agni. He is also the record keeper of deeds of all creatures—*pingalo lekhakah* (*Bhavisya Purāna* 1.76.13) Such moralsing concepts—a record of good and evil and the fire which dispels sin are heavily influenced by Zoroestrianism—Rosenfield *op cited*, p. 194.
271. Banerjea J.N. *D.H.I.*, p. 435; Agrawala V.C. *Gupta Art*, p. 10. Iranian influence is visible not only in the sun images but also in that of Daṇḍa and Piṅgala of the Gupta period.
272. Foucher—*Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. 271-91.
273. Yadav B.N.S.—"Some aspects of the changing order in India during Śaka, Kushāṇa Age" Kushan Studies Allahabad, p. 11.
274. Foucher—*Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 271-291; Yadav, *op. cited.*
275. Originally she was a Yakshī from Rājgriha and a personification of small pox, thus a devourer of small children. Her Yaksha husband is Pāncika in Sanskrit and Pānduka in Pāli. Her legend somehow became localised in Gandhāra where at Charsadda (ancient Pushkarāvati) Lord Buddha tricked her into conversion. Since then she gave up her cannibalism and became a giver of children, a deity who protected them and healed from the disease. Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. 270-291.
276. Yadav B.N.S. "Some aspects of the changing order in India during Śaka, Kushana Age" Kushan Studies, Allahabad p. 12.
277. Beal tr, Vol. I, p. 59.
278. *Ibid*, p. 48.

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279. The topic has been discussed in detail in Chapt III pp. 17-20 and Chapt IV pp. 42-45.
280. Coomarswami, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 52; Marshall, *Taxilā*, Vol. I, pp. 512-18, Saraswati S.K. *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 70 and 75, N.R. Ray in *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II (ed. Majumdar), p. 521; Bachhoffer, "On Greeks and Sakas in India" JAOS, Vol. 61 1941, pp. 227-28.
281. Coomarswami, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 52; Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 70.
282. Foucher, *L. Art greco-bouddhique due Gandhara*, I & II, pp. 140-141; Marshall, *Taxila* I, pp. 512-18; Bachhoffer, JAOS, Vol. 61, *op. cited* pp. 227-28. Saraswati, *op. cited*, p. 71; Ray, *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, p. 519.
283. Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, pp. 79-80; Buchthal, "The Western Aspects of Gandhara Sculpture," Proceedings of the British Academy 1951, p. 306; Soper A.J.A. Vol. 55, 1951, pp. 305-6. He suggests that the workmen and artists might have been brought from Rome to Peshawar and there they initiated or materially advanced the art of Gandhāra.
284. Ray, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, p. 519; Saraswati S.K. *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 73.
285. Coomarswami, *The History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 62.
286. Saraswati S.K. *op. cited.*
287. Saraswati S.K. *op. cited.*
288. Saraswati, *A Survey of India Sculpture*, p. 75.
289. *Ibid., Bachhoffer, Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. I, p. 85.
290. Saraswati, *op. cited.*
291. N.R. Ray in *The History and Culture of the Indian people*, Vol. II, p. 521; Saraswati *op. cited*, Bachhoffer *op. cited.*
292. Saraswati, *A survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 75; Ingholat, *Gandhara Art in Pakistan*, pp. 35, 42 & 43.
293. Saraswati, *op. cited*, Bachhoffer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, p. 85.
294. Saraswati, *op. cited*, Ray in *The History and Culture of the Indian people*, p. 521.
295. Saraswati, *op. cited*, Ray *op. cited*, Bachhoffer *op. cited.*
296. Bachhoffer, *op. cited*, Saraswati *op. cited.*
297. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 76, Ray in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, p. 521.
298. Bachhoffer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. I, p. 86; Ray *op. cited.*
299. Saraswati, *op. cited*, Ray *op. cited.*
300. Saraswati, *op. cited*, p. 73.
301. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 76; Dikshit P.N. "Buddhist Centres

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of Afganistan," ICWTC., p. 257, Coomarswami *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 148-49; Benjamin Rowland Jr. "Art Along the Silk Roads and a Reappraisal of Central Asian Art", Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 25 (1964-68), p. 526.

302. Gafurof, "Kushan Culture and the World Civilization" Kushan Studies in USSR, p. 12, Bonard Levin and Stavisky, "Central Asia in Kushan Period" Kushan Studies, p. 49.
303. Benjamin Rowland Jr. *op. cited.*
304. Benjamin Rowland—*The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 92; Coomarswami *op. cited*, p. 56; Saraswati S.K. *op. cited*, p. 696, Ray Nihar Ranjan *op. cited*, p. 522.
305. Coomarswami A.K. *op. cited*, pp. 56-57.
306. Vogel J. Ph—*Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum of Mathura* (1909-10), p. 46; Saraswati S.K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 68.
307. Saraswati S.K.—*op. cited*, p. 699.
308. *Ibid.*, 352 *ibid.*
309. *Ibid.*, Ray N.R. *op. cited*, p. 523.
310. Sharma R.C.—"The Alien Features experienced by Mathura School of Sculpture—The case study of early Buddhist icons" p. 84. Paper Read in the International Seminar on Influences & Interactions in Anc. Indian Art held jointly by Lucknow Varsity & Museum in 1982. Saraswati S.K. *op. cited*, p. 699.
311. Sharma R.C. *op. cited*, p. 76 & 84, Ray N.R. *op. cited*, Benjamin Rowland Jr. Foreword of *The Dynastic Art of the Kushanas* by Rosenfield, p. X.
312. Cunnigham, A.S.R.I., pp. 231-244 & III, pp. 13-46; Vogel P.H. *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum of Mathura*, p. 16.
313. Foucher, *L'art Graeco Bouddhique*, I, p. 222.
314. Coomarswami, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 60; Saraswati S.K. *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 99.
315. Saraswati S.K. - *op. cited.*, p. 700; Coomarswami *op. cited* p. 64.
316. This small village of Māt is some nine miles away from Mathura. The Tokri Tilā mound at Mat was first excavated by Pt. Radhakrishna a long time curator of Mathura Museum in 1911-12.
317. The mound called Gokarṇeśvara Tılā is situated at the spot where the ancient defence wall of the city joins river Jamuna.
318. Sahani, Daya Ram. "Three Mathura inscription and their bearing on Kushana dynasty" J.R.A.S. 1925, pp. 399-406; Lüders *E.I.* XXIV, 1937, pp. 138-145.
319. The practise of setting up a devakula in which the royal statues were kept was introduced by the Kushāṇas in India and it signified the cult of the dead king. Yadava B.N.S. "Some Aspects of the Changing Order in India during Śaka

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Kushāṇa Age." Kushana Studies 1968 (Seminar held by the Deptt of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology), pp. 75-90.

320. Lüders—*Mathura inscriptions*, pp. 133-134; Agrawal Cat., pp. 39-40.
321. Agrawala Cat, pp. 40-42; Lüders, *Mathura inscriptions*, pp. 98-138.
322. Jayaswal K.P. "The Statue of Vema Kadphises and Kushāṇa chronology", p. 15; Rosenfield *op. cit.*, p. 145; Lüders—*Mathura inscriptions*, p. 137. But Konow ("Notes on Indo-Scythian chronology" J.I.H. XII 1933, p. 36) and Grishman (Begram p. 140) both considered V(e)ma Taksha to be the name of the Kushāṇa noble and a successor of Vima but a predecessor of Kanishka. Girshman, however states elsewhere (*Begram*, p. 43 n. 6) that Kanishka erected a portrait of Vima in the Devakula.
323. Agrawal Cat, p. 38; Bhattacharya B. "Statue of Chaṣṭhana" J.B.O.R.S. VI (1920) pp. 51 ff.
324. Lüders in *Mathura inscriptions* is emphatic about the identificatian but Marshall ("Greeks and Sakas in India" JRAS 1947, p. 31) is doubtful in the absence of a positive proof.
325. Agrawal Cat pp. 132-133; Lüders, *Mathura inscriptions*, pp. 138-145.
326. Agrawala Cat, p. 28; Lüders. *Mathura inscriptions*, p. 147.
327. Nagar MM "A new statue of an Indo Scythian king from Mathura". Proceedings of All India Oriental Congress 12th Session 1943-44 III 1948 597-598.
328. Rosenfield—*The Dynastic Art of the Kushanas*, p. 148.
329. *Ibid.*
330. Schlumberger Daniel "Le temple de Surkhkotal in Bactriana "J.A. 1952 pp. 533-543; 1954 pp. 161-205; 1955 pp. 269-80. The sancturary was founded in the reign of great Kushāṇas, probably under Kanishka I. Soon it fell into desrepair and was neglected but in the year 31, however, the restoration of the temple took place just like Mat Devakula which was repaired during the reign of Huvishka.
331. Rosenfield—*The Dynastic Arts of Kushanas*, p. 156.
332. Krishna Sastri H.—"Two statues of Pallava kings and five Pallava inscriptions in a rock cut temple in Mamallapuram" MASI 26 (1926).
The Colossal Yaksha figure from Patna and Mathura belonging to Mauryan times were described as the portraits of Saisunaga kings of Magadh by Jayaswal but his views were not accepted.
333. The Nanaghat portraits of Sātavāhan kings were perhaps older but they have been completely defaced.
334. Rosenfield—*The Dynastic Art of the Kushanas* pp. 173-76.
335. *Ibid.*
336. Ingholt—*Parthian Sculpture at Hatra* Vol. I p. 424.
337. In Mansara (P. Acharya's translation Vol. VI p. 484) this was prescribed

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only for the image of Nārāyaṇa in gods and for Chakravartin king among men but its use did not remain confined to Nārāyaṇ Vishṇu but came to be worn by Sūrya and Kubera. Banerjee J.N. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 286-87.

338. Rosenfield. *The Dynastic Art of the Kushanas*, p. 184.
339. *Ibid.*
340. Banerjea J.N. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 287.
341. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, 198.
342. Herzfield, *Zoroaster and his World*, p. 838.
343. Bailey H.W.—*Zoroastrian Problem* p. 13 *cited* in Rosenfield p. 198.
344. Rosenfield—*The Dynastic Art of the Kushanas* p. 198.
345. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
346. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
347. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Art of Kushanas* p. 188.
348. *Ibid.*

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CHAPTER VI

The Summing Up

'Challenge and Response' is a formula describing the freeplay of forces, that brings about the birth of civilization and provokes new departure for the its growth.[1] Birth is a single act; growth is a continuous process.[2] The movement of challenge and response becomes a self sustaing series. An effective challenge not only stimulates the challenged party to achieve a single success but also provides it with a necessarily plan to acquire a momentum[3] that carries it further from achievement to fresh struggle, from the solution of one problem to the presentation of another, from momentary rest to repeated movement. A strong challenge provokes high creative response, but it necessarily disturbs the pre-existing harmony and may therefore have at first the appearance of an evil,[4] but that is the positive factor which carries the genesis towards growth and progress. As already discussed this process of external challenge and interna response was at work from the very beginning of Indian History and this process continued ever after. This is evident even from very early times with the country receiving successive waves of foreign hordes speaking different languages and of diverse cultures and racial affiliations.[5] The process started from the Paleolithic and Neolithic times with the coming of Negrito from Africa, followed by Mongoloids, Proto Australoids and the Dravidians from the Mediterranean.[6] Next came the Nordic Aryans, bringing with them an altogether different culture. These four principal language culture groups (loosely called races) were absorbed, fused and assimilated together and created the basic background of the Indian Civilization and Culture as we know it toady.[7] The language of the Aryans which was transformed in classical Sanskrit, has been largely borrowed from the Austric and the Dravian[8] and as such it became the lingua-franca of Indian culture[9]

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and the sacred language of Hinduism,[10] which embraces Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, in its comprehensive form. Thus, by the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., the creation of Indian Man and the main fabric of Indian Civilization was almost complete.[11] The genesis of Indian Civilization, caused by the interaction of diverse cultures, had taken place. Now the period of assimilation followed during which India evolved her distinctive and composite culture based on a rich sacred literature, highly developed various branches of philosophy, well-regulated social order based on Varṇāśrama[12] dharma, organized political states, both monarchial and republican, commerce trade and industry.[13]

The outside stimulus or challenge in the shape of successive foreign invasion and peaceful infiltration of the Persians, the Greeks, the Śakas, the Parthians, the Romans and the Kushāṇas continued unabated. At this stage Indian society was faced with the dilemma whether or not to repel and throw out the intruders ? Confronted with these challanges Indian society made a number of attempts to respond. She received foreign ideas and alien traditions without any reserve, assimilated and wove them in her cultural pattern ultimately making them her own. The incoming different ethnic groups, too, could not maintain their individuality for any length of time, they learnt the language, adopted the names and the faith of the vanquished and became Indianised. This assimilation and integration was the Indian response to external challanges.

None the less, it will be a misrepresentation of the fact to say that the foreigners only took and gave nothing in return. On the other hand their contribution to the growth of Indian civilization had been rich, varied and immense. The Indians through reciprocity of thought and culture have learnt much from them.

Outline of the Contribution of the Foreigners

At least one of the two scripts of ancient India are of foreign origin.[14] The Kharoṣṭhī script was introduced in India by the Persian Kings.[15] which remained in the North West region of India till the 4th centt .A.D.[16]

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In the field of art and architecture India owes a deep debt to her foreign contacts. The credit of beginning the masonary architecture in India-the best examples of which are the sandstone monolithic columns of Aśoka[17] and the pillared hall at Kumrahar-goes to Persians[18] Besides the animal capitals, the lusturous, almost metallic Polish of Mauryan period, Corinthian, Ionian and Doric pillars, the evolution of the Buddha image and Gandhāra art are all foreign contributions.

The genesis of Gandhāra Art is the interaction of Hellenic and Indian traditions of visual art[19] further enriched by the Roman and the Indo Scythic intrusion.[20]

Another notable field of foreign contribution is the art of coinage. Under this influence Indian coinage radically changed its archaic from and character and borrowed their weight standard, fabric, elegant workmanship and system of manufacture. The coinage of later Indian Kingdoms of Vṛṣṇis; Yaudheyas, Kuṇindas, Audumbaras, Imperial Guptas and several Chedi Kings was based on the coins of the foreign potentates.[21]

All most all the main branches of Indian Philosophy were fully developed by the coming of the 6th ccnt B.C. and there does not seem much evidence of its being in any way influenced by the alien ideology while there is a strong probablity of its influenceing Greek thought and philosophy.[22]

However, the short Persian intrusion and the long drawn out contact with Hellenic civilization, which was already tempered and tinged with Western Asian Civilization of antiquity, gave birth to various new religious trends, the chief among them being the theistic approach, which resulted in Mahāyān from of Buddhism and Bhakti cult in Hinduism. At this time, throughout Western Asia there was a tendency to establish a direct[23] as well as an emotionally satisfying relation with the ultimate reality where the worshipper could also be a devotee.[24] This demand required the conception of a benevolant human like god who would be mainly concerned for the worshipper's

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welfare and would have the power to deliver the suffering man from the unhappiness, sorrow and the evils of the world. [25] This theistic approach resulted in the devotional trend of Mahāyāna Buddhism.[26] which had been evolved out of Theravādin Buddhist. Philosophy. The concept of a saviour god with human personality is also responsible for the evolution of the Buddha image[27] which created a sort of revolution in Indian Art. It also gave a tremendous impetus to the image worship among the Hindus which has come to form such a dominant feature of popular Hinduism.[23]

Contemporaneous Hinduism also underwent a corresponding change which gradually resulted in metamorphosis.[29] Here it was labeled Bhakti cult which saw the emergence of may cults e.g. Vaiśṇavism Śaivism, Vāsudeva Bhāgvat, Pāśupata Bhāgvata, Saura, Shaktism and so on.[30] The worship of the Sun in the form of icons, installed in the temples is another foreign trend, introduced by Magas from Persia.[31]

The twin ideas of imperialism and the Divine origin and nature of kingship grew up more or less as a corollary of the contact of Achaemenid Persia and Hellenism with Indian Culture.[32] The Mauryan empire seems to be a sequal of the one founded by Cyrus and Darius.[33] Wile the concept of Divine Kingship was fostered by the Kushāṇas through the representation of the flaming. shoulders of their kings, the royal bust rising from clouds and the halo around their heads, on their coins[34] and the assumption of the suggestive titles viz. Devaputra, Begopouro (Son of god) Begoshao[35] (God King).

In the sphere of mathematics, medicine, astronomy and other applied sciences, though ancient Indians made great strides, they were deeply influence by the disciplined scientific approach being evolved at Alexandria in the post-Alexandrian Period.[36] India could not and did not remain uninfluenced by the new discoveries and experiments made by Greek scholars there, in almost every field. Indian astrology, based on the study of horoscope, is a totally foreign contribution,[37] which was accepted without any reservation and was incorporated without ceremony. Besides many social customs like

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disposal of the dead by throwing away the corpse to be devoured by vultures,[38] the Babylonian type of marriage market at Taxila,[39] political institution of the Satrapal system of government[40] building of highways, digging of cannals, stitched dress of long coat and trousers introduced by Indo-Scythians,[41] marriage among kith and kin,[42] practice of Sati,[43] borrowed alien words from foreign languages, stories and fables.[44] and so many other things seeped in Indian civilization through these foreign contacts. When an encounter between the two civilization takes place, its vibrations are felt at all levels and cultural synthesis proceeds in variety of ways, some of which are not detected for a long time and some never.[45]

Indianization of Foreigners

Indian captures her captors. The foreign races which entered India, conquered the country but in turn themselves became Indianised and got so much mixed up with the teeming masses of the country that now it is almost impossible to distinguish them from one to another.

Iranians

Iranian invasion was short lived and was soon thrown off by the onrush of Alexander's army. There were not many Iranian settlers in the country.[46] The Persians left the Indian borderland to retain their autonomy on the condition of the payment of tribute and the satraps represented the Persian imperial personage on the Indian soil.[47] That is why Alexander did not find any Persian officials east of Hindu Kush.[48] Whatever little Iranian population was left, got mixed up with the Indian peoble.[49]

Greeks

From the evidence of Pāṇini, Aśokan inscriptions, the narratives of Alexander's march and other scattered reference in Indian literature, it is clear that some stray Greek settlements on Indian borderland ante date the invasion of Alexander.[50] Alexander, in the course of his expedition founded several cities after his own name which became

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pockets of Greek settlers in India.[51] It was, however, only with the conquests of Bactrian Greeks that large scale settlement of Greeks took place. The evidence of coins attests to the rule of more than thirty Indo-Greek rulers within a period of less than two centuries. From the very beginning these Indo-Greek rulers adopted a different attitude in India from their cousins, the Seleucid rulers of Syria.[52] They tried to make themselves at home in the country of their adoption.[53]

The bilingual coins struck by Demetrius mark the beginning of this new approach, which started the process of Indianization as early as 2nd cent. B.C.[54] They adopted Indian divinities, symbools and sacred animals on their coins which points towards the gradual process of assimilation of aliens in the progressive Hindu Society.[55] Although the pictures and legends on Indo Greek coins are mostly borrowed from their mythology the Greeks "with their very elastic pantheon readily identified Indian gods with thesis own deities . . . . they identified Sun god Sūrya with Apollo, or Kāma, the god of Love with their Eros and they had no hesitation therefore in paying their devotion to Siva and Pārvatī, to Vishṇu and Lakshmi."[56]

The reverse of a rare silver coin of Telephus shows nimbate Sun God.[57] A radiated deity, driving a chariot drawn by four horses, appears on the reverse of the coins of Greek King Plato[58] It is interesting to note that early north Indian Sūrya is generally shown on chariot drawn by four horses.[59] The sungod clad in chiton and boots with spectere in the left hand[60] appears on the obverse of the coin of Philoxenus, which perhaps served as the prototype for the figure of Helios and Mihira on the Kushāṇa coins.[61]

On the coins of Agathocles is shown a female figure with long pendants in her ears, wearing trousers and holding flower in her right hand, identified as Yakṣiṇī Aśvamukhī, because of her heavy non human head.[62] Similarly on the obverse of coins of Telephus a snake legged figure (Yaksa), holding in each hands lotus stalks developing from his own serpent like legs, is shown. This is the figure of Lotus Yaksha.[63]

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The Indian humped bull or Nandi, the mount of Śiva, and elephant[64] are often depicted on the coins of these kings. The representation of Zeus on the coins of Eukratides, Antialkidas and few other Indo-Greek kings is supposed to be that of Indra.[65] On the coins of the kings like Apollodotus, particularly Agathocles and Menander, symbols such as sun, arched hill; wavyline, wheels of eight spokes, upright palm branch and stupa are frequently met with.[66] These symbols are also commonly found on the punch-marked and uninscribed cast coins of much earlier period and their religious significance has been discussed by various scholars. However, the adoption of these symbols by Agathocles, Menandar and others was certainly due to the influence of the Indian traditions on their lives.[67] The eight spoked wheel on the coins of Menander perhaps represents the Eight fold Path of early Buddhist philosophy.[68] The tradition of Milinda Panha,[69] the wheel symbols on his coins, his epithet '*Dharmikha*' and the Shiankot steatite casket inscription[70] bear testimony to his being a Buddhist.[71] Agathocles was the first Indo-Greek ruler to have minted coins with Buddhist symbols,[72] Showing stupa surmounted by star and a tree in square railed enclosure which stand for the symbolical representation of the Mahāparinirvāṇa and the enlightenment of Buddha in early Indian Art. He not only used Buddhist emblems on his coins but took pride in calling himself *Hindujā* i.e. an Indian.[73]

From the time of Menander the Greeks in India adopted Buddhism as the religion of their faith.[74] The Pāli texts represent the Greeks as taking part even in the missionary activities. It is recorded that after conversion of the Yavana country to Buddhism, Mogaliputta Tissa went there and selected a Greek elder Dharmarakṣhita for missionary work. He was sent to Aparāntaka where he successfully preached the law and converted thousands of people including women and nobles.[75]

As if to counter-act the Buddhist teachings of Menander and Agathocles, Heliodorus, the Greek envoy of Antial-kidas, of the rival house of Eukratides sent at the court of Śunga ruler Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra (c. 125 B.C.), became an ardent Bhāgavata and erected a Garuḍa Pillar at Besanagar, in honour of Vāsudeva.[76] The second part

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of the inscription recording the above facts speaks of the three immortal precepts, *daman*, *tyāga* and *apramāda*, translated as restraint renunciation and rectitude[77] and these words have bee identified as the concise rendering of the two passages in the Mahābhārata.[78] It is also probable that he was well-versed in Mahābhārata.[79] Helidorous calls himself a devout Bhāgavata and pledges himself to the cardinal virtues of Bhāgavatism.[80] It shows that tenets of Bhāgavat religion were exalted enough to captivate the Greeks and were catholic enough to admit foreigners.[81]

Then there is a seal of Timitra from Besanagar (Bhilsa) which has been interpreted as referring to a Brahmanic sacrifice which he instituted.[82]

The process of Indianization of the Greeks accelerated as the time went by. The series of votive inscriptions in prakrit which date from about the beginning of 1st cent B.C. are indication of this process. One Theodorus a Meridarkh is known from his Khoroṣthī inscription to have enshrined the relics of the Buddha, in the Swāt valley.[83] A few other Khoroṣthī inscriptions from the North West have the same tale to tell though in these cases because of the absence of word yavana, the Greeks have to be identified through their names like Theodama of Bajaur inscription,[84] Theodorous, son of Theoros of the Silver bowl inscription from Taxilā,[85] Theodorous Datiputra of Swāt Valley inscription,[86] Denipa (Greek Deinippos) from Taxilā[87] and the feminine name Sapha, the donor in an inscription now lost.[88] Two railing inscriptions of Stupa I at Sānchī (c. 1st. cent. B.C.) record the pious donation of a Yavana hailing from Śvetadvīpa.[89] The magnificant Chaitya at Karle owes its origin in a considerable measure to the munificence of foreigners e.g.'a yavana of Yaśavrdh-anas,' and a yavana of Culayakas (Kṣudrayakṣas)[90] all from Dhenukakata. Further incriptions from the same cave record the donation of other traders from Dhenukakata,[91] indicating that the place had a large colony of foreigners who actively associated themselves with the excavation of the Chaitya. Donative inscriptions of yavanas are not lacking in other caves e.g. Junnar and Nasik.[92] These inscriptions

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clearly show that Greeks in large numbers, were converted to Buddhism and some of them even took Indian names as the Cave 17 inscription records the gifts of a cave and cistern by Yonaka Indragnidatta, son of Dharmadeva, together with his son Dharmarakshita for the sake of his parents in honour of all Buddhas. Some of these donors call themselves yavana and have Indian names, one calls himself yonaka and has Indian name[93] and the 9th calls himself Dhamma Yavana.[94] His name is either not given or has perished.[95] The evidence cited above suggests that roughly from the beginning of the 1st cent. B.C., the Greeks in India were gradually becoming Indianized.[96] Many of the Greeks perished in the Śaka wars[97] and the remaining ones adopted Indian religions, took Indian names, married Indian women and got mixed up in the Indian population in such a way that no trace of them can be found now.[98]

Śakas

The subsequent invasion of Śakas and Pahalvas was in the nature of mass migration of the people.[99] Their cultural level was far inferior to that of the Greeks and Indians, hence they succumbed to the cultural impact of both.[100] They had very little heritage of their own to coniribute to the highly advanced culture of the conquered people and they were better known as the champions of Hellenistic ideas and traditions.[101] But India soon began to influence them and they embraced her faiths, language and their way of life.[102] The Greeks had been content to adopt the Indian forms of their names but the Śakas, however, almost from the very beginning took purely Indian names[103] e.g. the whole of line of sub kings Vīryaksmitra;[104] his son Itravarman or Indravarman father of Apsavarman.[105] Sivadatta and Śivaghoṣa, the kshatraps of Mathurā who are known from their copper coins, Napān's son-in-law, Ṛṣabhdatta or Usavadata his father Dīnaka[106] and wife Dakṣamitrā or Sanghamitrā[107] known from Nasik inscriptions. Yet another Nasik inscription[103] distinctly calls Ṛṣabhadatta a Śaka Similarly the successors of Chashṭana, Jayadāman, Rudradāman and Dāmsena contain both Iranian and Indian elements[109] but later kings of the same line Rudrasimha,

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Rudrasena, Vijaysena, Viśvasiṁha etc. are typically Indian names like Vudhika or (Sanskrit Vrddhika) son of Vishnudattā of Nasik Cave inscription,[110] Śakānikā Vishṇudattā; daughter of Śaka Agnivaraman and mother of Viśvavarman.[111]

On their coins the Śakas and Pahalavas first adopted the bilingual legends in Greek and Prakrit written in Kharoṣṭhī script like. Indo-Greek kings but later Kshatrapas of Malwā and Ujjain converted the Greek inscription as an ornamental border and substituted Prākṛit for Sanskrit written in Brāhmī script.

The symbols and devices too, of Śaka kings show their strong leanings towards Indian faiths. Maues issued several series of coins representing Śiva in various forms.[112] The figure is almost identical with that on a seal from Taxilā,[113] bearing a Kharoṣṭhī legend Sivarakṣitā. As for the representation of the Buddha on the coins of Maues there is no certainity.[514] Śiva is also found on the coins of Gondophares.[115] Śiva seems to be the popular deity of the Śakas. The Mahābhārata also states that Śaṅkar was worshipped in Śakadvīpa.[116]

Lakshmī, both as Gajalakshmī-goddess standing (rarely seated) being bathed by elephants-and Padmavāsinī[117] goddess standing or seated on a full blossmed lotus or holding a lotus in her hands-is often found depicted on the coins of Azileses, Rājuvula, Sodāṣa, Sivadatta ond Hagamāsa.[178]

It is quite certain that most of the members of the imperial Śaka dynasty were Buddhists.[119] Maues, Spalirises, Azes, Spalhora and Spalagadama style themselves *dhramika* i.e. an expression which is said to be peculiarly Buddhist,[120] and use wheel symbols on their coins. The Mathurā Lion Capital inscription,[121] Taxilā Copper inscription of Patika and various not so well preserved votive Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Śakas of North India[122] are Buddhist in their tone and content. Buddhism does not seem to be much favoured by the Śakas of Western India.[123] Kanheri seems to be the only Buddhist establishment of this region as shown by the epigraphic records discovered

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there.[124] One inscription at Nāgarjunikondā is of Śaka Moda and his sister Budhī, who were Buddhists.[125]

Nahpāna's son-in-law, Ṛṣabhadatta was tolerant towards Buddhism and Brahmanism both. On one hand he went on tīrthayātras of sacred Hindu places, made endowments to Brāhmans and on the other he was solicitious to monks and Sramaṇas.[126] His wife followed him by making a gift of a cave dwelling for the use of Buddhist monks at Nasika.[177] Another Queen Mahādevi Rudrabhattārikā[128] wife of Iksvāku king Vīrpurṣadatta (3rd cent. A.D.) is said to have made a gift of a pillar in the mahāchaitya of Nagārjunikondā. The inscriptions of Śaka Vṛḍhika[129] and Upāsikā Vishṇudattā[130] indicate the strong Buddhist leanings of Śaka people in general.[131]

Though there is hardly any archaeological evidence of the early times that would directly connect Śakas with Jainism, however, one or two stray inscriptions show that it is not improbable that some of them had adopted Jainism or were attracted towards the faith which was in a flourishing condition at that period. Even today Śaka or Maga Brāhmaṇs are employed in Jain temples, as Purohits in Rajasthan.[132] One inscription dated in the year 229 of Mahārāja Rājātiraja[133] records the setting up of an image of the arhat Mahāvīra in the temples of Arhats (Arhatā-laya) and the shrine by the donors Ojhatika, Okhrikā and Okhā. These names are rather uncommon and seem to be foreign.[134] Lüders thinks that they were Parthians[135] who immigrated during the reign of the Kshatrapas.

The Jain votive inscriptions from Kankālī Tīlā also mention some unfamiliar names of donors like Akaka[136] and Ogha[137] which are clearly foreign names.

The Kanaḳhera inscription of 'Śaka Śrīdhar-varman[138] son of Nanda, who was originally a Mahādaṇḍanāyaka but later on became independent, shows that he was a devotee of Mahāsena Kārttikeya.[139] Like an orthodox Hindu he aspires to attain an eternal abode in heaven by doing pious works such as digging the well.

Śakas Marrying Indian Girls

There are many instances of Śakas marrying in Indian

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families.[140] The Śakas of Ujjayanī had marital relations with the Brāhmaṇa Sātavāhana kings. The daughter ot Mahāksatrapa Rudradāman was married to Vaśiṣthiputra Śātkarṇī.[141] The Ikṣvāku King Vīrpuruṣadatta's chief Queen Rudrabhattārikā[142] was the daughter of the king of Ujjain who was a Śaka King in all probability[143] and she may be related to Rudrasena I (200-213 A.D.) or Rudrasena III (254-74 A.D.)[144] According to Junagaṛh inscription, Rudradāman attended several syamvaras and won the hands of several princess.[145]

The above evidence bears the fact that from the very beginning the intention of Śakas and Pahalvas was to make India their permanent home and they strove hard for this by assuming Indian names, embracing the religious faiths and the way of living of their adopted country. Gradually they became so throughly Hinduised that even the staunch Brāhmaṇa families like the Sātavāhans and the Iksvākus had no hesitation in marrying them.[146]

Remnant of Śakas in India

The account of the Mahābhārata which has incorporated traditions of different ages,[147] says that there is full operation of the Varṇāśramdharma in the Śakadvīpa, where people are honest and devoid of greed and jealousy. This account could have been composed only after the Śakas of India had been admitted into the fold of the Brahmanic society.[148] The Epics and the Purāṇas further give information about the fourfold division of society practised in Śakadvīpa,[149] where, Magas are said to be Brāhmaṇas; Māgadhas Kshatriyas Mansas, Vaiśyas and Mandagas[150] Sūdras. Nothing much is known about these tribes. but Magas were certainly the priests of the Śakas,[151] who came to be known as Śakadvīpī Brāhmaṇs in India.[152] Varāhmihira (C 505 A.D.) in his Brihatsamhitā[153] speaks of the Magas as the proper persons to install and conscrete the image of Sūrya. A manuscript of about the same period (550 A.D.) found in Nepal states that in Kaliyuga the Magas and the Brāhmaṇas would be regarded as of the same status.[154]

However, the first cpigraphic mention of Maga Brāhmaṇas is found in the Ghātilya inscription of Kakkuda dated 861 A.D. The

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text of the inscription is therein said to have been prepared by Maga Matṛravi.[155] Again an inscription at Deo-Barnarak[156] (Distt. Shahbad) records that from a very early period Bhojaka Brahmanas had been living at that place and the Magadhana King Bālāditya granted the village to a Bhojaka Brahman Sūryamitra for the purpose of the daily worship of the Sun god. Later on the same grant was revived by the Kings Sarvavarman and Avantivarman in favour of Bhojakas Hansamitra and Ṛṣimitra which was continued by Jīvagupta II (early 8th cent. A.D.) in favour of Bhojaka Durḍharimitra. Bhojaka was another name of Maga Brāhmaṇas[157] and as such they have been referred to in Bhaviṣya purāṇa.[158]

In the Govindpur inscription[159] (Gaya district Bihar) has been preserved a very interesting account of the Śaka Brāhmaṇas, in India. It expressly states that the Magas were the Brāhmaṇa's of Sakadvīpa and originally came from the body of the Sun God. Gangadhar, the author of this inscription, traces his geneology from Damodara, son of Chakrapāṇi, (who had again) two grand sons Manoratha and Daśaratha. This was a family of poets. Manoratha is styled as Nūtana Kālidāsa and Chakrapāṇi is compared to Vālamīki. It is not an empty praise as Sadūktikarnāmrita[160] (1205 A.D.) of Śrīdhardās mentions the verses of six Maga Brahmaṇa poets mentioned in the epigraph.

Varāhmihira, one of the most celebrated astronomer of India, seems to have been a Maga Brahmaṇ.[161] Bhatta Otpala, a commentator of his work, calls him Māgadha Brāhman. [162] Māgadha does not mean an inhabitant of Magadha but Maga Brahmans.[163] His Śaka origin is also corroborated by his and his father's name viz. Varāhmihira and Ādityadāsa, one of whose components is the name of Sūrya.[164]

Bhojakas are Maga Brāhmaṇas as has been mentioned earlier and so are the Sevaks.[165] In the former Jodhpur state there is a class of Brāhmaṇas known as Sevaks and Bhojahs, most of whom were religious dependents of the Osval Śrāvkas.[166] They call themselves Śakadvīpī Brāhmaṇs and keep images of Sūrya in their houses which they worship on Sundays when they eat only once.[167] The Parāśari Brahmans of Puśkar were also originally known as Sevakas and

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Śakadvīpī Brahmanas.[168] The Sevakas maintain that their caste people are called Śakadvīpī in East, Sitāpurī in the South and Pande round about Delhi and Agra.[169] The Pujaris of the temple of Jagdish and Jvālamukhī temples in North India are, are said to be, Śakadvīpī Brahmanas.[170]

So much about the Maga Brahmanas among Śakas but nothing what so ever is known about the part played by Śaka Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. Manu . . . . relegates the Sakas to the position of Vṛśāla Kshatriyas[171] by which he meant perhaps the ruling Śaka families of India.[172] The very fact that Śaka princesses were marrying in staunch Brahman families of Sātavāhan, where Gautamiputra Sātakarṇī is credited with stopping the admixture of caste and restoring the Varṇāśrāmadharma,[173] and Ikṣvākus, shows that the Śakas of Ujjayanī were looked upon as high caste people, if not brāhmanas.[174] The suffix varman in the name of Agnivarman mentioned in Nāsik Inscriptions[175] and Srīdharvarman of Kanakhera inscription[176] and others show that Śakas were looked upon a Kshatriyas.[177] The name ending *Varman* is generally associated with the Kshatriyas.[178]

The evidence cited above shows that gradually the Śakas become more and more Indianised were given high status in the society and got absorbed in the various sections of Indian Society.

Kushāṇas

After the Śakas, the Kushāṇas weilded imperial power over North India. From the very beginning, these kings adopted Hindu religion. The first King of this dynasty was Kujula Kadphises. In his coin legend he styled himself as Sacha Dharma thita[179] i.e. Satyadharma Sthitas which can be taken as belonging to the faith of Buddha[180] or Śiva.[181] The seated male figure on the coins of Kujula Kadphises has been taken as that of Buddha[182] or Siva,[183] His Successor Vima Kadphises was and ardent devotee of Śiva.[184] On the reverse of his series of gold coins the two armed 'Siva is shown holding a trident or a trident battle axe. Behind him there is a bull. On these coins Siva is represented with or without the bull.[185] Accordingly he assumed the title of *Sarvaloka Iśvarasa Mahiśvarasa*,[186] which testifies his Śaivaitc inclinations. The third ruler of the dynasty and

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the successor of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka was a Buddhist,[187] but he pursued a policy of religious toleration. On the reverse of his coins were represented many other Indian deties viz. Śiva, Śiva and Pārvatī, Sūrya besides Buddha in the galaxy of Hellenic, Zoroastrian and Roman divinities. Like Kanishka, the coins of Huvishka also represent these foreign deties with the Hindu divinities such as Śiva, Śiva and Umā, Skanda, Mahāsena, Viśākh, Kumāra, and Sūrya, Buddha is conspicious by his absence on Huvishka's coinage. On the coins of Vāsudeva, Siva alone is represented.[188] Here Siva is represented with one head and two arms, which became a prototype for later Kushāṇa and Kushano-Sassanian coins.[139]

Epigraphic Evidence

The epigrapeic evidence also indicates the learnings of the Kushāṇa Kings towards Indian religions. Huvisaka too followed in his footsteps. His splendid monastry at Maturā,[190] the Wardak bronze Vase inscription,[191] dated in the year 51 of Huvishka show his learnings towards Buddhism. Similarly Malhurā Buddha image inscription of the year 61, of the time of Vāsudeva,[192] the Mathurā inscription of the year 91 of Vāsudeva,[193] indicate that Kushāṇa Kings at least up to Vāsudeva extended patronage to Buddhism and also to Hinduism. The representation or Brahmanical deties on their coins and the name Vāsudeva given to more than one Kushāṇa king and a numbcr of epigraphs[195] especially several Yūpa pillar inscriptions[196] show their growing interest in Brahmanical religion which was a living force at that time.

Kushāṇa Figures as Donors and Devotees

A very interesting account of the gradual Indianisation of these foreigners can be seen in the representation of Indo-Scythians as donors and devotees in art.[197] Their number is amazingly large which give visual dimension to this abstract fact and shows Indo-Scythians mixing up in the vast cultural milieu of the society of that period,[198] Strangely enough, a very small number of these figures are inscribed and these have come from Mathurā. The most important example is the inscribed pedestal of an image, propably of

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Maitreya,[199] dated in the 24th year of Huvishka. The devotees are all dressed up in Indo-Scythian style; the donor is i.e. Karaṭīta, resident of e.g. Araki[200] probably a Kushāṇa name and settlement.[201] There is another pedestal of a lost standing image of the 3rd cent A.D. exported from Mathurā to Sānchī, showing a large number of Indo-scythian devotees but the name of the donor seems to be purely Indian-lady Vidyāmatī.[202] A Jain image of the same period from Mathurā shows a donor wearing Indo-Scythian dress, but the name inscribed is Indian i.e. Siṁhadattā, wife of the village headman Jayadeva.[203] It is impossible to be certain but the Indian names suggest that the Indo-Scythian invaders had adopted local customs and were being assimilated in Indian society,[204] although there were many obstacles in the naturalization of such foreigners.[205]

Remanants of the Kushāṇas

It appears that a large number of Kushāṇas too, like other foreign tribes preceeding them, became gradually Indianized and got mixed up in the vast population of the country but some, especially the scions of the rulling family took shelter in Kabul valley and continued rulling parts of North Western India for some centuries more.[206]

By the 3rd cent A.D. the combined strength the Yaudheyas and the Nagas[207] and the increase in the Roman maritime Trade which rendered the eastern portion of the empire unimportant destroyed the Kushāṇa Empire and drove them away beyond Sutlej where they continued ruling the Kabul valley and the borderland. From its very inception, the Sassanian empire under Ardshir I (225-26, A.D.) its kings expanded their empire eastwards and under Varhan II (AD 276-93) to Shapur II (309-379 A.D.) exercised suzeranity over the Kushāṇas of North-West India.[209] By this time, these Kushāṇas seem to have thoroughly intermingled with the other tribes like the Śakas anq Gaḍhara (Gadhakara).[210] They continued their chequered existence even up to the time of Samudra Gupta, when he compelled them to accept his suzeranity and they are styled in

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Allahabad Pillar Inscription as Daivaputra Shāhi Shahānushāhi.[211] Perhaps in the confusion that followed the death of Samudragupta in India and Shahpur II in Iran the remaining Kushāṇas got the opportunity to regain their strength[212] and it has been suggested, that they advanced on an agressive campaign in Indian at the time of Rāma Gupta between 280 to 310 A.D.[213] and the leader of the campaign was Basan,[214] who issued gold coins closely resembling the standard bearer type of Samudragupta,[215] but his design was foiled by Chandra Gupta II.[216] Nothing can be said with certainity in the present state of knowledge but about the middle of 4th or early 5th cen the Kushāṇas established their rule over Gandhāra and Kashmir[217] and came to be known as Kidar Kushāṇas.[218] They issued crued copies of Sacrificing king and enthrosed Ardocho type of coins in debased gold.[219] In the 5th cent A.D. these Kidar Kushāṇa kings fought against Hūṇas and later tried to check the tide of Arab invasion India.[220] The family was extinguisshed by their Brahmana minister Lalliya or Kallar[221] who founded the Hindu Shaiya dynasty towards the close of 9th cent A.D. Thus faded the last remnant of Kushāṇas power in India. By now they were completely indianized. They had Indian names like Kritvīrya, Sarvayaśa, Bhāsvan, Sīlāditya, Prakāśa and Kuśula[222] and under their patronage the area of Gandhāra and its neighbourhood, now in Afghanistan was completely Indianized.[223]

The challenge posed by these foreign tribes to Indian Society

The inroads of these foreign elements besides causing political disturbances brought immense social convulsions.[224] Moreover the foreigners being in the position of the ruling class, were invested with enough political power to determine the social and economic developments of the time.[225] These foreign invaders and settlers broght with them some new social traditions, allien customs and practices which were repugnant to Indian society. All these elements together created an upheavel in Indian society which had hitherto been patterned, almost exclusively—with a certain degree of flexibility—on Varṇāśramdharma. The fear and apprehension of the con-

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temporary law givers at the consequent changing aspect of the society is expressed in the literature of the period, The Yugapurāṇa section of Gārgī Saṁhitā[226] in the course of an account of the Yavanas and the Śakas states that at the end of Kālī Age all distinction between non Aryans and Aryans, between Brahmans, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Sūdra, between orthodoxy and heresay will disappear. Due to the foreign invasion even the family life will be jeopordised, women deviating from all norms.

In the Mahābhārata[227] the end of the Kālī Age is described as one of the whole sale degeneration and decay, of complete anarchy in social order, of the predominence of the non-Aryanas and barbarians. In the Mahābhārata[228] again there is a reference to the immoral and lax way of living of Madrakas and Vālhīka people, who lived longest under the foreign rule in the land of the five rivers.[229] Vatsāyan[230] also mentions the sexual immorality of women of this region and Saurashtra. The Yugadharma section of Early Purāṇas also alludes to the general decline of the priestly class.[231] People did not generally observe the strict rules of the caste and the duties enjoined by the Vedas.[232] The Brahmāṇas gave up the study of Vedas and the performance of sacrifices.[233] Men of all castes pretended to be equal to Brahmāṇs and defied their authority.[234] The pure Kshatriya and Vaiśya were almost extinct[235] and the prevailing caste was Sūdra.[236] In the Kālī Age, the majority of the Kings were Sūdras.[237]

Added to these foreign invasions were many factors at home also which caused a number of changes in the existing order of society, in the early centuries of the Christian Era.[238] These were the rise, spread and popularity of the heretical religions like Buddhism, Jainism, Pāśupata, Pancaratra and other systems which undermined the authority of Vedas and Brahmāṇas and challenged Varṇāśram dharma; the rise of the Bhakti Cult[239] which believed in equal rights for all; the growth of mercantile class that is Vaiśya[240] with the development of trade during Saka-Kushāṇa period. Royalty did not remain the previlege of the Kshatriyas as the Nandas, the Mauryas and the Andhras were of low origin and belonged to Sūdras class.[241]

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Indian Response

Nevertheless, the fact is that the Yavanas, the Sakas, the Pahalvas and the Kushāṇas far from upsetting the traditional social order and destroying the accepted cannons of morality and conduct were themselves being absorbed in the existing social system of the country,[242] The process of this indianization of foreigners started with the bilingual coins of Demetrius in the middle of the 2nd cent B.C.

While the foreigners themselves were trying to be Indianized the orthodox law givers were talking steps to meet them halfway. Pātanjali[243] while commenting on Pāṇini tells us that the Sakas and Yavanas, who were still living outside the Aryāvrta were recognized as Śudras of the higher grade with the right to perform sacrifice and the use of the Aryan dish.

In Manu Smriti[244] and in the Mahābhārata[245] the Śakas and the Yavanas are included in the list of those Kshatriyas who had gradually sunk to the level of Sūdras because of the non-performance of Vedic Saṁsakāras (like upanayana etc.) and by the absence of the contact with Brāhmaṇs.

The Gautam Smṛiti[246] refers to the Yavanas as belonging to pratiloma caste sprung from Sūdra male and Kshatriya female. The Milindapanha[247] refers to king Milinda as belonging to Kshatriya caste and traces his Kshatriya lineage. In the Mahābhārata[248] the Sakas, the Yavanas, the Tuśāras and the Pahalvas along with various aborginal tribes are declared to be eligible for the performance of the Vedic religious acts and certain minor sacrifices (Pāk-yajnas). The Purāṇas refer these foreigners as belonging to Kshatriya caste. There is an identical story in various Purāṇas[249] that once when king Bāhu was ill the Haihayas, the Śakas, the Yavanas, the Kambojas, the Pahlavas, the Khasas and the Paradas united and wrested his kingdom from him. His posthumouss on Sāgara determined to exterminate these foreigners. When he was slaughtering them they fled to Rishi Vaśiṣtha for protection. The Ṛishi intervened on their behalf and Sāgara had to content himself with depriving them of their true religion and degrading them as Kshatriyas. He also changed their mode of dress and

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made the Śakas shave half their head.[250] The notable feature about this narrative is that these foreigners are not described as mlechhas or barbarians.

Conclusion

The naturalization of these foreign invaders and their gradual but complete absorption in the ancient four-fold division of society is the most remarkable feature of the Indian civilization. The awesome challenge of continuous foreign invasions and multitude of alien people entering the country to make it their permanent home, which for a time seemed to shake the very foundation of Indian social system, was met with the typical Indian response of absorbing assimilating and integrating it to form her own unified corpus.

To refuse to take notice of the diverse and exotic elements in the Indian culture and to regard it as wholly or even mainly the outcome of Vedic or eclectic Purāṇism, is to falsify history. At the same time, to isolate these alien elements and to emphasise them is to ignore the basic homogenity of the Indian culture which is the product of absorbing various and divergent forces that have been in operation since the very dawn of human history in India.

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3. ibid; p. 83.
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15. Sten Konow-*CII*, Vol I Part I p. VI: Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western Warld* p. 28. Kharosthi is derived from the Aramaic Script used by the Persian officials of the time.
16. Wheeler Mortimer-*Early India and Pakistan;* Ojha, Kailash Chandra-*The History of Ancient Rule in India* p. 61.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Toynbee-*Mankind and Mother Earth* p. 278.
20. Toynbee, above cited p. 278.
21. Lahiri A.N. "Influence of the coins of Foreign Rulers on Indigenous Issues" Seminar on Foreigners on Ancient India Calcutta 1966 pp. 35-42; *Comprehensive History of India* Vol. II p. 254, Mukherjee, B.N.-"Impact of Sculptural Style on Numismatic Art. A few Illustrations". International Seminar on "Influences and Interactions in Ancient Indian Art".
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23. The revolutionary Seers of 6th & 5th cent. B.C. Zarathustra, Buddha, Confusius, Isaiah and Pythagoras discarded the ritualistic approach and stressed on a direct personal relation with the ultimate spiritual reality in and behind the Universe. Toynbee, *Mankind and Mother Earth*, pp. 176-178. This age has been called by Karl Jasper the Axis age i.e. an age that is the hinge on which the human history has turned. They have continued to influence mankind to this day and are likely to go on influencing posterity by their example.
24. Toynbee is of the opinion that this devotional trend was generated by the increased suffering of humanity resulting from the large scale wars being carried in West Asia and calls this period as 'The Age of Agony' *Mankind and Mother Earth*, p. 287.

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25. ibid; Rawlinson, *India* p. 27.
26. Rawlinson ibid. In Mediterranianian basin theistic approach resulted in Christianity with Jesus as its savior god. The rise and spread of Mahāyāna and Christianity had a global effect and gave a new turn to the history of Mankind. Toynbee-*Mankind & Mother Earth* p. 301.
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70. Sten Konow, *CII*, Vol. II Part I. This inscription records the enshrinement of the relic of Buddha by a certain Viyakmitra during Menander's rule.
71. Banerjee G.N. *Hellenism in Ancient India* p. 10; Bhandarkar R.G. "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population" p. 11; Indian Antiquary Vol. XXXII p. 430.
    Tarn is skeptical about Menander's conversion to Buddhism based on the none too convincing evidence of his coins. In his opinion he adopted the faith only nominally as a matter of policy against Pusyamitra to win over Buddhist to his side. *Greeks in Bactria and India* pp. 267-68.
    Narain is emphatic about Menander becoming a Buddhist. If he is known to Indian literature it is only because of Buddhist literature.
    Besides there is also a local tradition in Indo China that the statue of their famous Emerald Buddha was materialised by Menander's teacher Nāgasema out of a magic emerald by his super natural powers *Indo Greeks* pp. 97.100.
72. Banerjee G.N.—*Hellenism in Ancient India* p. 11; Ghosh Nirmal Chandra- "The Impact of Indian Traditions on the coins of Alien Rulers." ICTW p. 139.
73. Ghosh Nirmal Chandra, "The Impact of Indian Traditions on the coins of Alien Rulers of India" p. 139; *Comprehensive History of India* Vol II p. 365.
74. S. Levi—"Le Bouddhisme et les Grees" Revue de Histoire de Religion XXIII. 1891 pp 436-49: reprinted in Memoria Sylvain pp. 204ff Rhys Davids. *The Question of King Milinda*, S.B.E. XXXV.
75. *Mahāvaniśa—XII;* Satyaketu Vidvalankar-*Brihattar Bharat* p. 15
76. A.S.I.A.R. 1908-9 p. 126; Marshall "Inscription from a pillar in Besnagar" IRAS 1916 p. 73-75.
77. L.D. Barnett translated them as self restraint, self surrender and diligence J.R. A.S. 1903 p. 1053
78. Rai Chaudhri J.A.S.B. XVIII 1923 pp 269-71; Bhattacharya I.H.Q. VIII 1932 p. 610
79. Tarn *Greeks in Bactria and India* p. 381.
80. Marshal, "Notes on Archaeological Exploration in India" JRAS 1909 p. 1056.
81. Mitra Debala—"Foreign Elements in Indian Population" p. 617.
82. Bhandarkar A.S.I. 1914-15; p.74
83. Sten Konow CII Vol. II Part I pp-4
84. ibid p.6 No. III
85. ibid p. 98 XXXTIII. Tarn thinks that both Theodama and Theoros show the Indian form of Greek names, Theoros though a Greek name, is rare, *Greeks in Bactria and India* p, 389
86. Sten Konow—CII Vol II, Part I, p. 100
87. ibid p. 101 No. 7
88. ibid p. 114 No, XLVIII
89. Hultzch, Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII pp. 44-45

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90. Karle No.7, Karle No. 10, Burgess—*Arch Survey of Westren India* Vol. IV 1883, pp. 90-91
91. Must be located somewhere in North West India *Hultzsch* Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII p. 54
92. Complete list of these inscriptions is given in *Indian Culture* pp. 343-57 with notesby *Otto Stein. They are also listed in Epigraphica Indica* Vol. VII pp 53-55; Vol. VIII pp 44-95; Vol XXII p. 27; also L*uders Bramhi Ins, List* No. 1093, 1026, 1140, 1156, 1182
93. Nasik 19-Burgess Arch Survey of India In 883 p. 114
94. Karle 10—ibid. pp. 90. 91
95. According to Tarn these were wealthy Indian merchants living in Greek cities and some who were Greek citizens call themselves 'Dhamma Yavan' They came to South for the purpose of trade primarily that of pepper. In his opinion the probability of Greeks taking Indian names does not arise—*Greeks in Bactria and India* pp. 255, 258.
A.K. Narain believes that they may have been Alexandrian Greeks or Romans who came to India for the purpose of tradeand settled down in Indian towns to serve perhaps as agents of Indian goods—*Indo Greeks* pp, 94-95
96. Ojha K.C. is of the view that the so called Mitra Kings, whose coins have been found in Panchala, Mathura, Kaushambi Sravasti and Pataliputra (C*unnigham coins of Ancient India* pp. 84-88; Allan B.M.C. CAI pp. CXIX, CXX. Marshal A.S.R. 1907-8 p. 40) and who have no identity with any of the known Indian rulers, were Hinduised yavana kings. *The History of Foreign Rule in Ancient India* pp. 82-83.
97. Tarn W.W. *Greeks in Bactria and India* p, 391.
98. ibid;
99. Mitra Debla—"Foreign Elements in India Population" p. 621.
100. ibid; Chattopadhyaya S. *The Śakas in India* p. 80
101. Chattopadhyae. op cit. p. 80-81; *Comprehensive History of India* p. 220-21.
102. *Comprehensive Hist. of India* p. 221, Upadhyaya, *Feeders of Indian Culture* p. 64. Chattopadhyay S.*The Śakas in India* p. 84.
103. *Comrehensive History of nIdia* p. 474
104. E.I. XXIX pp 1-8; Whitehead N.C. 1944 pp 99-104
105. White head has published a coin with the legend Vijayamitraputrasa Itravarvarmasa apracharajasa, of the son of Vijaymitra, Itravarma, the apracharaja in Khroṣṭhī script, Itravarma and Indravarma are taken by Thomas and Whitehead as Identical N.C. 1944 pp. 99-104
106. Nasik Cave ins.- E.I.VIIIVI VIII 12 & 15 pp. 78 & 82.
107. Nasik Cave ins. 11,13,14—EI Vol. VII pp 81,85,86
108. ibid up 85 & 86
109. Rapson —*Catalogue of Indian Coins*, Introduction p. CV
110. Ep. I eol VIII p. 95; Lüders list No. 1148 & 1149
111. Lüders list No. 1137; Ep. India Vol VIII p. 88

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112. Gardener BMC p. 71, pl XVIII, 63; Whiteheat P.M.C. Vol I p. 101 pl. X. 25; Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 120 Ghosh "Impact of Indian Traditions on the coins of Alien Rulers of India" ICWTC p. 140.
113. ASIAR—1914- 15 p. 35 pl. XXII 51
114. Banerjee J.N.-*Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 110.
115. Gardener PMC I, PI XXII fig 9 pl. XV 43; Banerjee op. cited p. 119; Ghosh "Impact of Indian Traditions on the Coins of Alien Rulers of India," ISWTC p. 140. Tarn is of the opinion that figure of Siva in human form does not appear on coins before the Kushāṇas *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 20
115. VI,12,26 'Pūjyate Yatra Śhankarah'
117. Coomarswami A.K. *Eastern Art*. Vol I p. 178. This motif is represented in the early art of central India.
118. Banerjee J.N.- *Devlopment of Hindu Iconography*. pp 110 & 11
119. Bhandarker D.R. "Foreign Elements in Indian Population" p. 15
120. ibid;
121. Sten Konow, CII, Vol II-Part I pp. 30-49; Ep. Ind. Vol IX pp. 141 ff
122. CII, Vol II, Part I pp. 92-97
123. Chattopadhyaya S. *Śakas in India* p. 94; *Comprehensive History of India* 474.
124. Lüders List No. 1137, 1148, 1149
125. Ep. Ind. XX. p. 37
126. Nasika Cave ins. No. 12,13,1415, Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII pp. 82,85,86, p. 78.
127. Ep. Indica Vol. VIII-No. 13 p. k5.
128. Ep. Indica XX p. 4; She is described as Ujanikā mahāra bālikā or the daughter of, the King of Ujjain. She seems to be the daughter of a Śaka king of Ujjain. Chattopadhyay s. *The Sakas in India* p. 90.
129. Lüder list, No. 1148-49.
130. ibid No. 1137.
131. Bhandarkar D.R.—"Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population" p. 20.
132. D.R. Bhanderkar. "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population," p. 28.
133. Luders, "The Era of Mātrarāja and Mahārāja Rājatirāja," D.R. Bhandarkar Volume pp. 281-9.
134. Puri B.N. *India under Kushaṇās*, p. 149.
135. Lüders-op. cited p. 188.
136. Lüders List No. 48.
137. Lüders List No. 29, 43.
138. Ep. Ind. Vol. XVI p. 232.
139. ibid;
140. It is suggested that peahaps Nahapān married an Indian woman, whose daughter was, Dakshamitrā, wife of Ṛṣabhadatta (*Sātya Sarva, The Sakas in India* p. 95).

    Certain Mitradevānaka calls himself son of Ṛṣabhadatta in Karle Inscription No. 11 (Ep I Vol VIII p. 56). It seems an Indian name. May be he was the son of Ṛṣabhadata's wife Dakshamitrā, Satya sarva '*The Sakas in India* p. 96.

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141. Archaeological Survey of India Vol. V p. 78. *Lüders List No. 994.*
142. *Ep Ind Vol.* XX p. 4.
143. S. Chattopadhyaya, *Sakas in India* p. 90.
144. Sircar D.C. *The successor of Sātavāhanas* p. 28.
145. "Narendra Kanya Swayamvaräneka mälya präpta dämn." Ep. Ind. Vol VIII p. 44 Line 15; Lüders List of Brähmi inscriptions p. 994.
146. D.R. Bhandarker "Foreign Elements in Hindu Population" p. 18; Chattopadhyay; Sakas in India p. 90; Mitra Debla. "Foreign Elements in Indian Population" p. 622.
147. Mahābhārata VI, 12, 33.
Tatra puṇyā janapadāshtvāro loksatratah Magāsh Maśkāsheh Mānsā. Mandagastathā 11.
The consensus among the scholars is that the time of MBH is from 4th cent B.C. to 4th cent A.D. CHI 258.
148. Chattopadhya S, *The Sakas in India,* p. 86.
149. *Brahmapurāna, Ch. XX Verse 71*
Magā Brahmaṇā bhuyishthā, Māgadhah Kshtriyastu te'vaiśyastu Mānsas teṣām śūdrā gyeāstu Mandagah / /.
Agnipurāna, Ch. 119, verse 21.
Maga Magadhamānsyā Mandagāsh dvijatiyah / Yājanti Sūryarūpantu Śākāh Kṣhirābdhināvṛitāh / /
Bhavisvapurāna I-39.
Tatrapuṇyā Janapadāshturvarṇā Samanvitāh /
Magāsh Magagvshev Gāngā Mandagāstathā /
Maga brāhmaṇā bhuyishthah, Magaga Kshitriyah Smritah /
Vaiśyastu Gānagā gyeyā Śūdrasteśām tu Mandagāh /
150. Buddhaprakash has tried to identify the latter three tribes besides Magas with legendary Gog and Magog occuring in the old Testament. According to him these are not legendary people but the historical ferocious tribes belonging to Central Asian nomadic hordes. *India and the World,* pp. 188-199. This identification, however, does not appear very convincing.
151. Supra Chapt. IV pp. 56-58.
152. Bhandarkar D.R. Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population p. 24; Upadhyaya B.S. *Feeders of Indian Culture* p. 66.
153. IX, 19.
154. Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society 1902 p. 3.
155. Fleet, Corpus, III p. 213.
156. Fleet, Corpus Vol III p. 215.
157. Chattopadhyaya S.—*The Sakas in India* p. 87; D.R. Bhandarker "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population" p. 25.
158. Bhavisya Purāṇa-Bramha Parva 139-42; 144-26.

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159. Ep. Ind. Vol. III p. 330-342.
160. Sei Deut Morg Ges Vol XXXVI p. 511 cited in Bhandarkar D.R. "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population" p. 27.
161. Bandarkar D.R. "Foreign Elements in Hindu Population" p. 27; Upadhyaya B.S.—*Feeders of Indian Culture* p. 67.
162. Colebrook—*Miscellaneous Essays* Vol. IV p. 477.
163. Bhandarkar D.R. *op. cited* p. 27, Bhaviṣya Purāṇa also States "Magam dhyāmanti te yasmāt ten te Magadhāh Smṛith" Brahma Parva 117 55.
164. Bhandarkar *op. cited* p. 27.
165. *Ibid.*
166. Census Report of Jodhpur State 1891 Vol. III p. 320 ff.
167. *Ibid.*
168. Bhandarkar D.R.—"Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population" p. 28.
169. *Ibid.*
170. *Ibid.*
171. Manu Smt X 43-44.
172. Chattopadhyaya S. *The Sakas in India* p. 84.
173. Nasik Ins. No. 2, Ep Indica Vol VIII p. 60 ff.
174. *Ibid.*
175. Chattopadhyaya S. *The Sakas India* p. 90.
176. Ep Indica Vol XVI p. 232.
177. Bhandarkar D.R.—"Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population" p. 20.
178. Parāśar Grihya Sutra I. 17.
Baudhayan Grihya Sutra, 1, 11, 9.
Will Durant maintains that Rajputs are the decendents of Indo Scythians. *Our Oriental Heritage* p. 454.
179. Gardener, B.M.C. PL. XXV 5.
180. Sircar D.C. *Histoty and Culture of the Indian People* Vol II p. 138; Puri B.N. India Under Kushāṇas p. 112. M.E. Droin. "The Nimbus and the signs of deification on the coins of Indo-Scythian Kings, "Indian Antiquary Vol XXXII, p. 429.
181. Chattopadhyaya Bhaskara, *Kushāṇa state and Indian Society*, p. 167; Ghosh Nirmal Chandra—"The Impact of Indian Traditions on the Coins of Alien Rulers" ICWTC p. 143.
182. The theory was first stated by V.A. Smith, when he published the two coins of Kujula Kadphises with the seated crosslegged male figure whose right arm is raised and left hand is kept on the hip. "Numismatic Notes and Novelties" Part II JASB 1897; Part III 1898. This was accepted by White-Head PMCI Pl. XVII, fig 29 p. 181.
Marshall is of the opinion that this figure is of the king himself as is found on the coins of Azes I—*Taxila*, Vol II, pp. 279, 818, 840. Rai Chaudhri is uncertain about accepitng this figure as that of Buddha *PHAI* p. 463.

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183. Benerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography* p. 112; Coomarswami A.K. feels that the seated figures on the coins of Kujula Kadphises may be that of Śiva. The head seems to wear Jatāmukata but the object of the raised hand is not clear. *The Origin of the Buddha Image,* Chattopadhyaya Bhaskara, *The Kushana State and Indian Society* p. 158; Ghosh Nirmal Chandra. "The Impact of Indian Traditions on the coins of the Alien Rulers of India ICWTC p. 143; *Comprehensive history of India,* Vol II p. 231.

184. Sircar D.C. *History and Culture of the Indian People* Vol II p. 140 ; *Sastri, Comprehensive History of India* Vol II p. 232; Chattopadhyaya B. *Kushāṇa State and Indian Society* p. 159; Puri B.N. *India Under Kushāṇas* p. 15.

185. Tarn is of the view that in the time Kushāṇas Śiva is represented for the first time in human form. *Greeks in Bactria and India* p. 20 but J.N. Banerjee thinks that earliest anthropomorphic representation of Śiva is found on the coins of Maues and Gondophares, the Pahalva ruler of North West India. *Development of Hindu Iconography* pp. 118-120.

Pātanjali mentions that the images of a few gods like Śiva, Skanda and Viśākh were made for worship in his time (Puri B.N.—India in Pātanjali p. 30). The Śivapura or Śaivapura, of which Śiva was the tutelary deity according to Mahāmayurī text, is referred to by Patanjali in his commentary on Pānini (IV 2.104) as Udīchyagrāma. (*Puri India in Pātanjali* p. 52). Probably it was situated somewhere in the Punjab which was the abode of *Sibi* people of the classical writers (*Curtius Bk IX Ch 4) Diodorus* (Bk XVII Ch XCVI) or the Sibi of the Indian literature. Sastri, *Comprehensive history of India,* Vol II p. 395.

It appears that the worship of Śiva was prevalent in the Punjab region, therefore Śaka Kushāṇas, who had their seat of authority in the Punjab, embraced Śaivism at the first instance. Chattopadhyaya B.—*Kushāṇa State and Indian Society* p 160.

186. Gardener, BMC Pl. XXV pp. 6-12.

187. Supra, Chapt V pp. 75-78.

188. BMC pl. XXIX.

189. Banerjee J.N.—*Development of Hindu Iconography* p. 128.

190. Lüders List No. 62.

191. Sircar-*Select Inscriptions* pp. 153, 154 Sten Konow CII, Vol. II Part I p. 170. This inscription records the establishment of the relics of Śākya-muni in the Vagramarega Vihar in a stupa at Khawat on the 15th day of the month of Artemisos.

192. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress Hyderabad Session* p. 163.

193. Ep. Indica XIX p. 69 No. 9, refers to the creation of a monastery for the Mahasaṁghikās.

194. Bhattacharya B., *Kushan State and Indian Society* p. 162.

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195. The Mathura inscription of the year 28 of Huvishkā recording the gift of foreigners Banakpati and Kharasatrapati in favour of Brahmanas and Māt inscription entrusting the Devakula to Brahmanas and provisions of grants for them. Ep. Ind. Vol XXI pp. 55; Dayaram Sahani, "Three Mathura insciptions and their bearing on Kushāṇa dynasty" pp. 399-406.
196. Vogel; *Catalogue of Mathura Museum* No. 13. Yūpa pillar inscription of the the 24th year of Vasiska found at Isapur now in Mathura Meseum refers to sacrificial rites for twelve days by Dṛnala, son of Rudṛilla, a Brahman of Bhārdvāj gotra. The Badav (Kota) Yupa inscription commemorates the performance of Triratri sacrifice. *Ep. Ind. Vol XXIII, pp. 245 ff.* The Allahabad Museum Yupa inscription of 2nd cent A.D. commemorates the creation of seven Yupas connected with Sapta Some sacrifice. Puri B.N. *India Under Kushāṇas* pp. 137-140.
197. Rosenfield—*The Dynastic Art of Kushanas* p. 215.
198. *Ibid.*
199. Bajpai—Proceedings of Indian History Congress 11th Session 1948 pp. 95 ff
200. *Ibid.* The similar names are found on Jamalpur States also—K (sh), Andhamihira (?), Vakamihira (?), Horamuraddhuphara—*Lüders, Mathura inscriptions,* pp. 67-94-98.
201. Rosenfield—*The Dynastic Art of Kushanas* p 315.
202. Marshall—*Guide to Sanchi* pp. 385-87; Ep. Indica XI pp. 244-5.
203. Rosenfield—*The Dynastic Arts of Kushanas* p. 316.
204. Rosenfield—*The Dynastic Arts of Kushanas* p. 316.
205. Rosenfield—*The Dynastic Arts of Kushanas*, p .316.
206. Rai Chaudhri—*Political History of Ancient India*, p. 482; Sastri—*Comprehensive history of India* Vol III p. 248; Rahul Sankrityayan, *Madhya Asia Ka Itihasa* p. 209; Banerjee R.D.—*Age of Imperial Guptas* p. 20.
207. Attekar A.S.—"Who Overthrew Kushāna Empire? The Bhāraśivas, the Vākatakas or the Yaudheyas?" PAIOC (Benaras 1943) p. 513 ff.
Rai Chaudhri—*op. cited* 480-81; Sastri—*Comprehensive History of India* Vol. II p. 258.
208. Mukherjee, B.N., The Disintegration of the Kushāṇa Empire pp. 35-36.
209. Herzfield—Paikuli I, pp. 47-48; Smith V.A. *Early History of India* (4th ed.) p. 290, Herzfield - Kushano-Sassanian Coins, MASI No. 38 1930
210. Jayaswal J.B.O.R.S. XVIII p. 210; Altekar, *New History of Indian People* Vol. VI p. 21, Budhaprakash—*Aspects of Indian History and Culture* p. 113.
211. Fleet—CII III No. 1 pp 1-17.
D.C. Sircar—*Select Inscriptions* p. 258.
212. Rahul Sankrityayan—*Madhya Aśia Kā Itihāsa* p. 209 & 210, Buddha Prakash—*Some Aspects of Indian History and Civilization* p. 125.
213. Buddha Prakash—*Ibid.*, Bajpai K.D. "Ram Gupta, A Gupta King" JNSI, Golden Jubilee Volume XXIII 1961 pp. 340-344.

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214. Chatterjee C.D. "Some Unique Gold and Brass coins of Imperial Guptas" Bulletin of U.P. Historical Society No. 2 p. 58 Altekar—*New History of Indian People* VI p. 21.
215. Buddha Prakash—*op. cited* pp. 125-26.
216. *Ibid.*
217. Rai Chaudhri *Political History of Ancient India* p. 481-82; Altekar *New History of Indian People* p. VI p. 21; Banerjee R.D. JASB Nos. IV 1908 p. 91.
218. Sastri, *Comprehensive History of India* Vol. II p. 252, *Rahul Sankrityayan—Madhya Aśia Ka Itihāsa* p. 209 & 10; Rai Chaudhri above cited p. 482; Altekar above cited pp. 21, 22.
219. Benerjee R.D. "Notes on Indo-Scythian Coinage" JASB 1908, pp. 92-93.
220. In 631 A.D. when Arabs brought the Persian Empire to an end and advanced eastward, Ratanpal, the Buddhist ruler of Gandhāra, checked the tide of Arab invasion. P. Banerjee and Agarwala R.C.—"Hindu Sculpture in Ancient Afganistan" ICWTC p. 219; Upadhyaya *Feeders of Indian Culture* p. 69.
221. Sachau Edward —*Alberuni's India*, Vol. II pp. 10-13.
222. Banerjee R.D. "Notes on Indo Scythian Coinage" JASB 1908, p. 93.
223. P. Banerjee and R.C. Agarwala—"Hindu Sculpture in Ancient Afganistan" ICWTC pp. 217-219.
224. Sharma G.R. (ed) *Kushāṇa Studies* pp. 74-75.
Chattopadhya B *Kushāṇa State in Indian Society*—p. 186 Sastri KAN—*Comprehensive History of India* Vol. II p. 472.
225. Chattopadhyaya B—*Kushāṇa State and Indian Society* p. 186.
226. Jayaswal K.P.—"Historical data of Gārgī Saṁhita" JBORS 1928 pp. 402, 408, 410, 413 & 414.
"Anāryashāryā dharmash bhaviśyanti narādhamāh. Brahmaṇāh Kshatriyah Vaiśyah Śudrāshaiv yugkshaye. Samveśāh Samāchārā bhaviśyanti na samśayah Pakhandaish Samāyuktā narāh tasmin yugakshaye Strinimittam cha mitrāṇi kariśyanti na Saṁśayah."
227. MBH—III 188, 30, 64, 190, 12-88.
228. MBH—VIII 40, 20-44, 44, 6-44; 45, 8, 38.
229. Sastri, *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II p. 473.
230. II 5, 25.
231. Hazra R.C. *Puranic Records of Hindu Rites and Customs* pp. 174 ff.
232. *Vishṇu Purāṇa* VII 10, 49.
233. Vāyu P. Ch. 5838; Brahmāṇḍa p. II 31; Matsya p. 144, 38a.
234. Visṇu P. VI 1.
235. Matsya P. 144; Vāyu p. 58, Brahmāṇḍa p. II, 31.
236. Vāyu P. VI.
237. Matsya p. 144; Vāyu Purāṇa p. 58.
238. G.R. Sharma (ed) *Kushana Studies* pp. 73-76: Chattopadhyaya B. *Kushana States and Indian Society*—188-190.

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239. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cited.*
240. Chattopadhyaya op. cited, Romila Thapar *History of India* Vol. I pp. 109-113.
241. Hazra R.C. *Puranic Records of Hindu Rites and Customs* p. 205.
242. Sastri—*Comprehensive History of India* p. 473; Chattopadhyaya B. *Kushāṇa State and Indian Society* p. 190.
243. Pātanjali-Pāṇini 144, 10.
244. Manu Smṛiti, X, 43-44.
"Vriṣlatvam gatā loke Brahmaṇādarśnen.
Paundrakashaudra Draviṇā Kambojah Yavanāh Śakāh.
245. Anuśāsan parva 68, 21.
"Śaka Yavana Kambojastata Kshatriya Jātayah.
Vriṣlatvam Parigatā Braāhmaṇā nāmdarśnat.
246. IV, 17.
247. Milindapanha, 329.
248. XIV, 29, 15-16.
249. Brahmāṇḍa P. Ch. 63; Vāyu P. Ch. 88: Vishṇu P, Ch. 8.
250. Vāyu P, Ch 88, 140-41.
"Ardhaśakanām Śirso mundaitvā
Yavananam Śirāh Sarvam, Kambojanam tathaivacha.
Parda muktakeśash Pahalavah Śamaśrudhārināh.
Nih svādhyāya vaṣtakarah Kritāsten mahātmanā.

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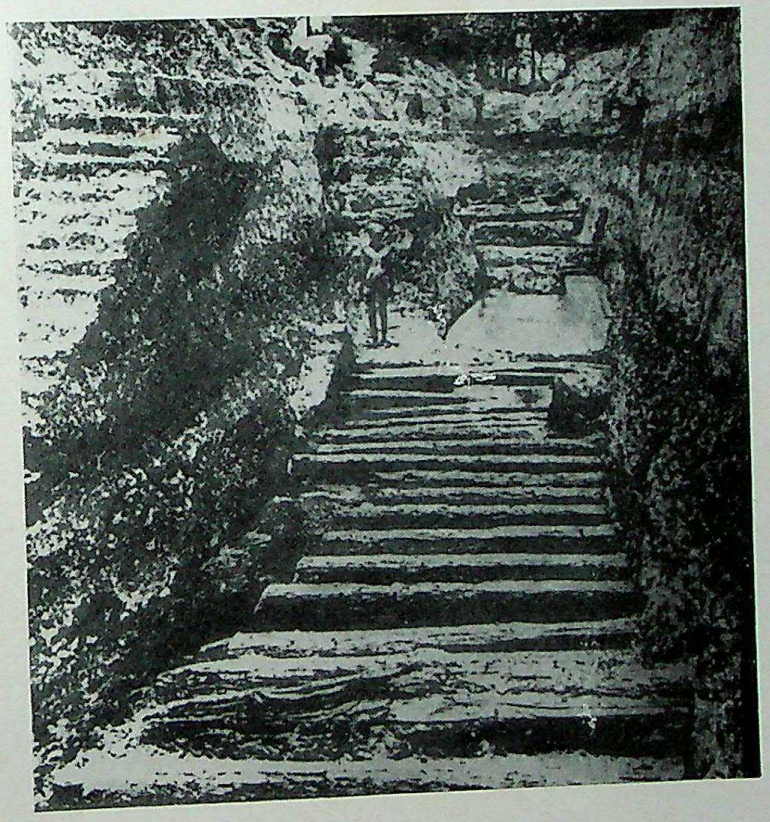

1. Excavations of palisad at Pātliputra

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2. Yaksha from Parkham

3. Yaksha from Patnā

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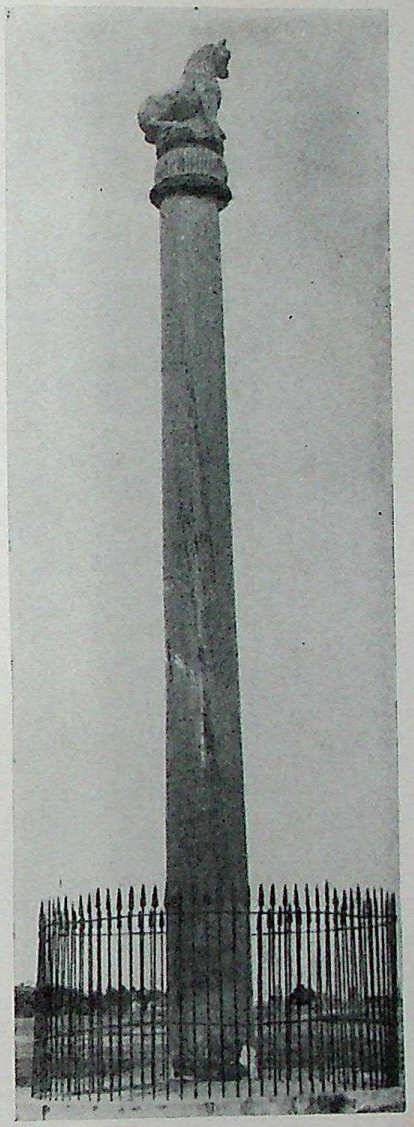
4. Dīdārganj Yakshī



5. Lion Capital Lauriyā
—Nandangarh

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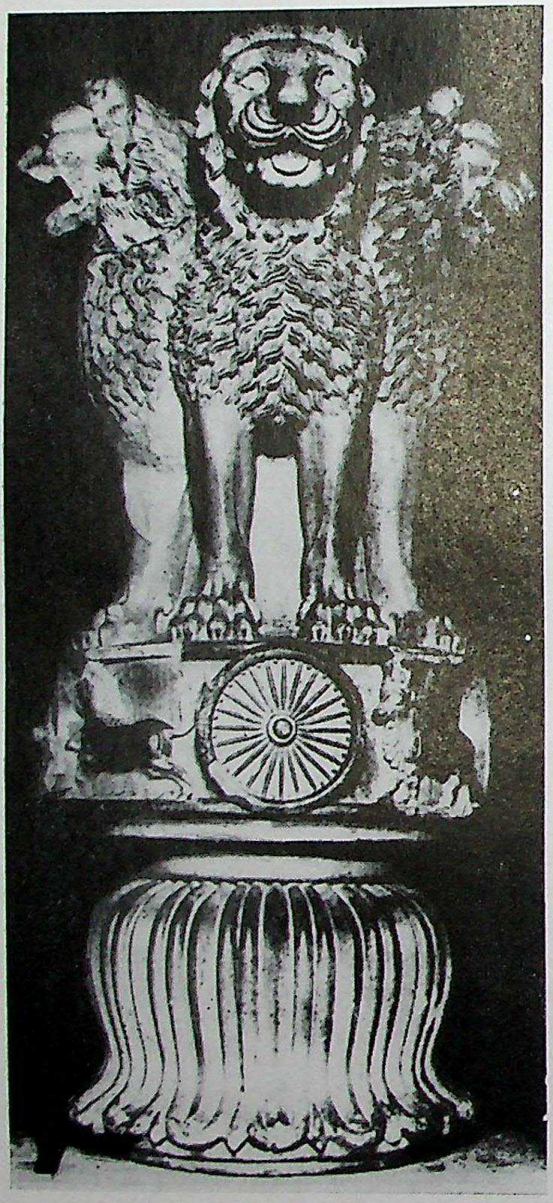

6. Sarnath Lion Capital

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7. Rampurwā Bull Capital

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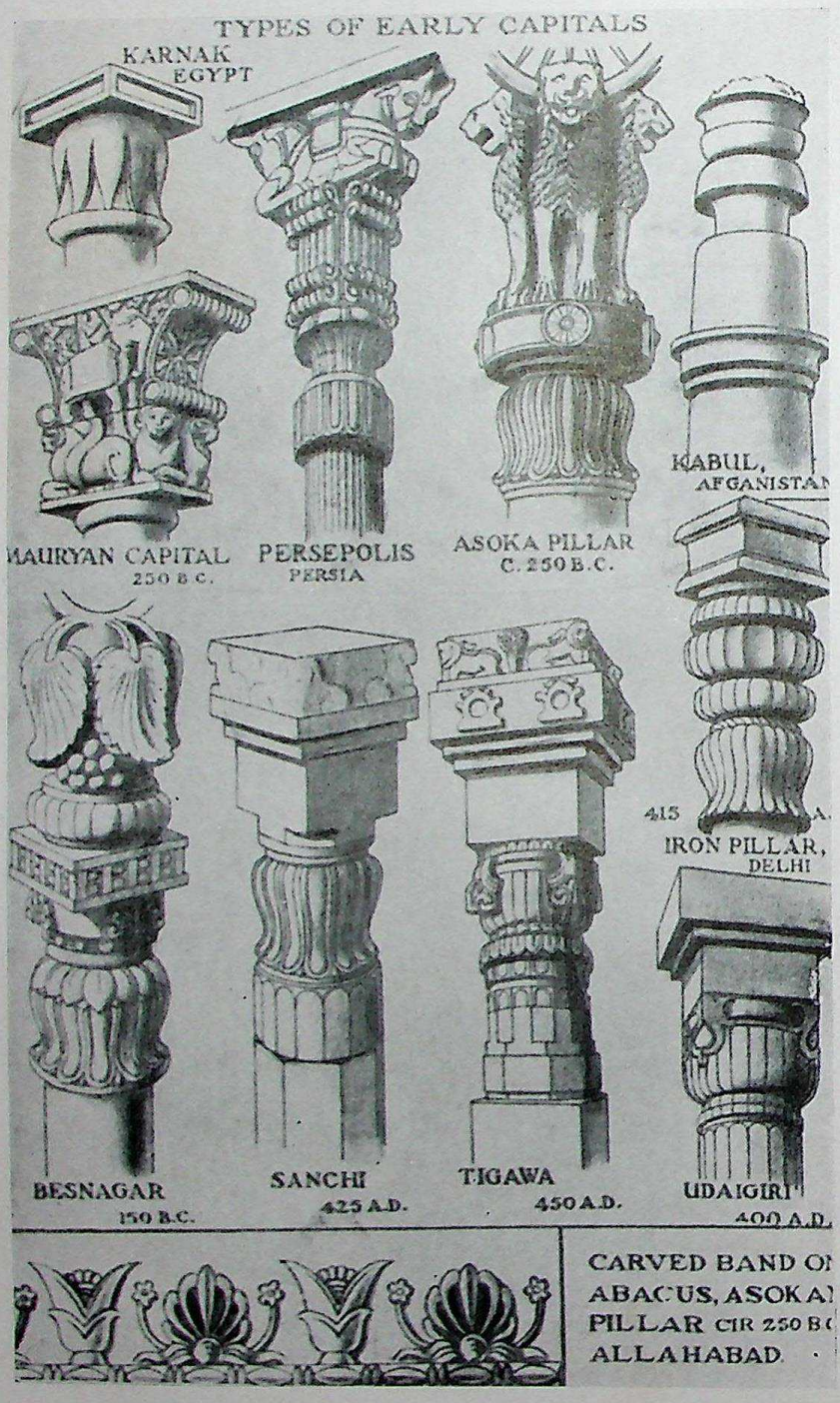

8. Types of early Capitals

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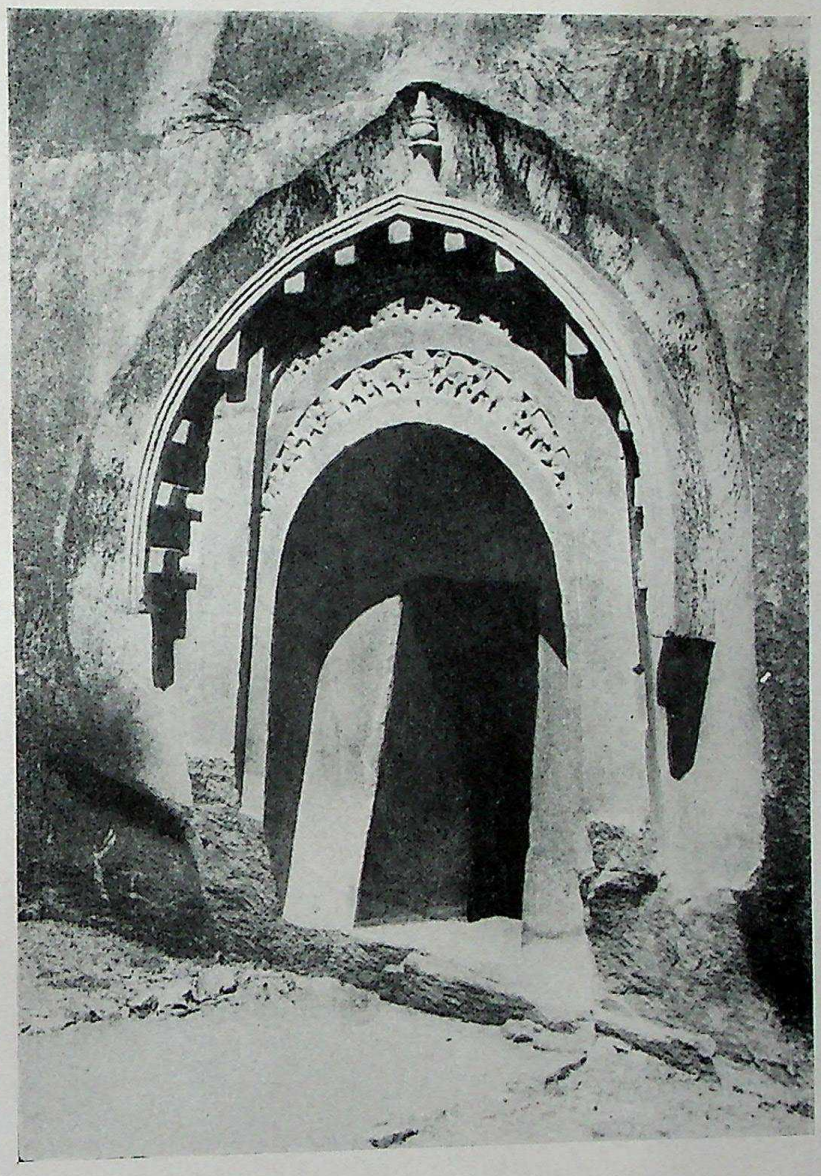

9. Lomaśa Riśi Cave

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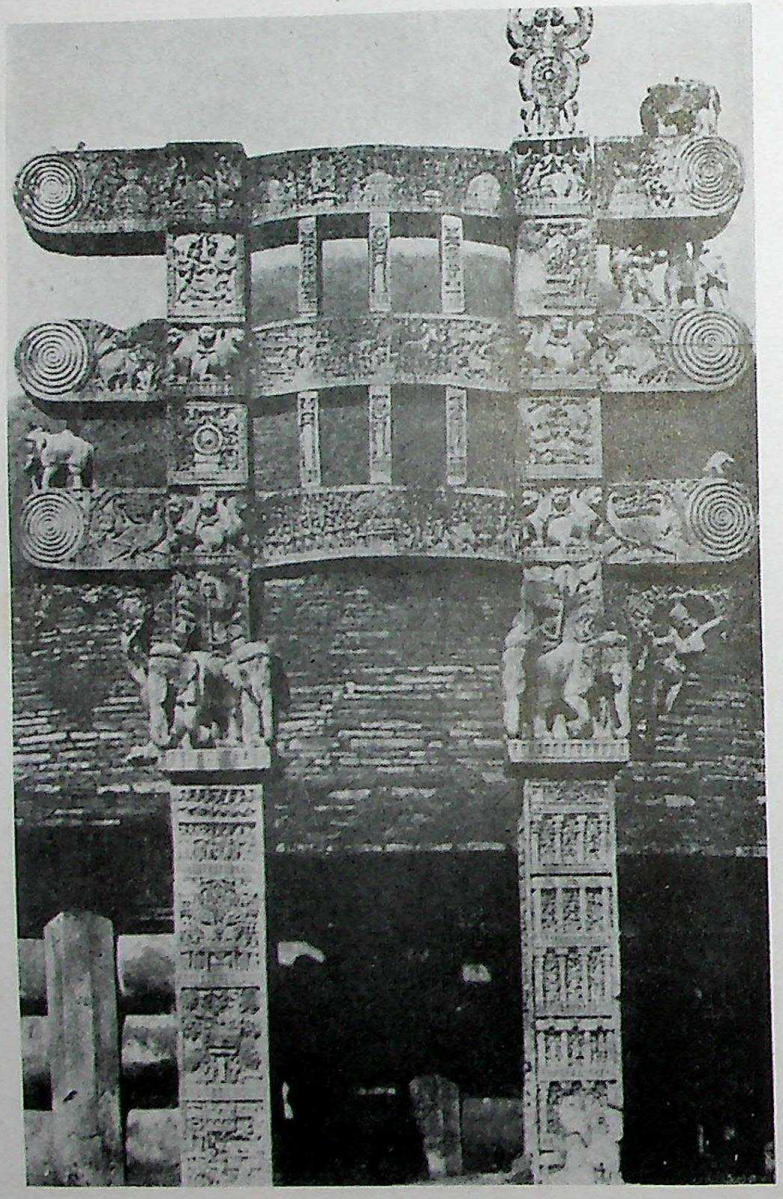

10. East Gate of Sānchī Stupa

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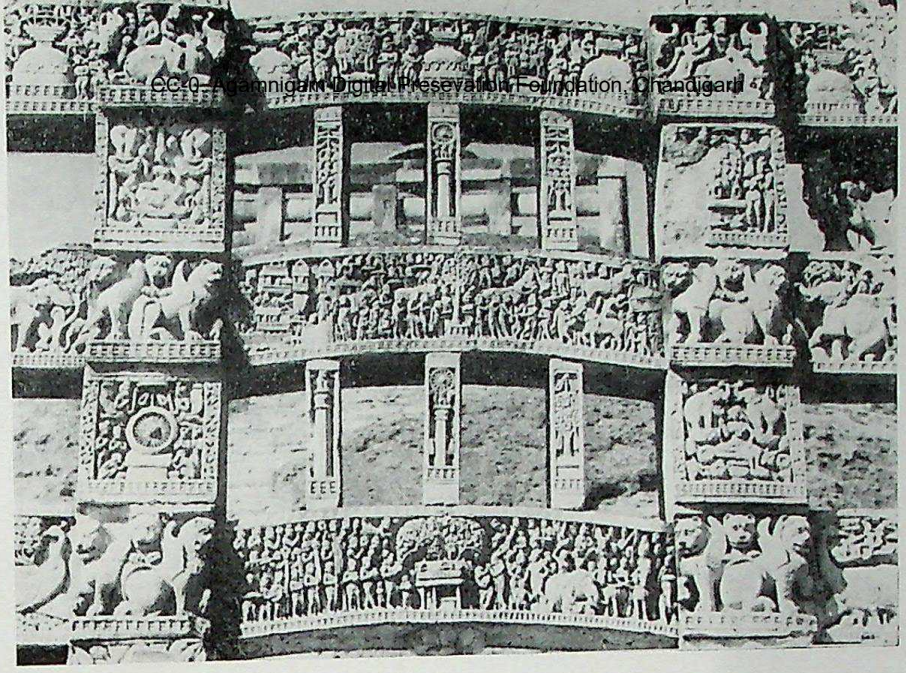
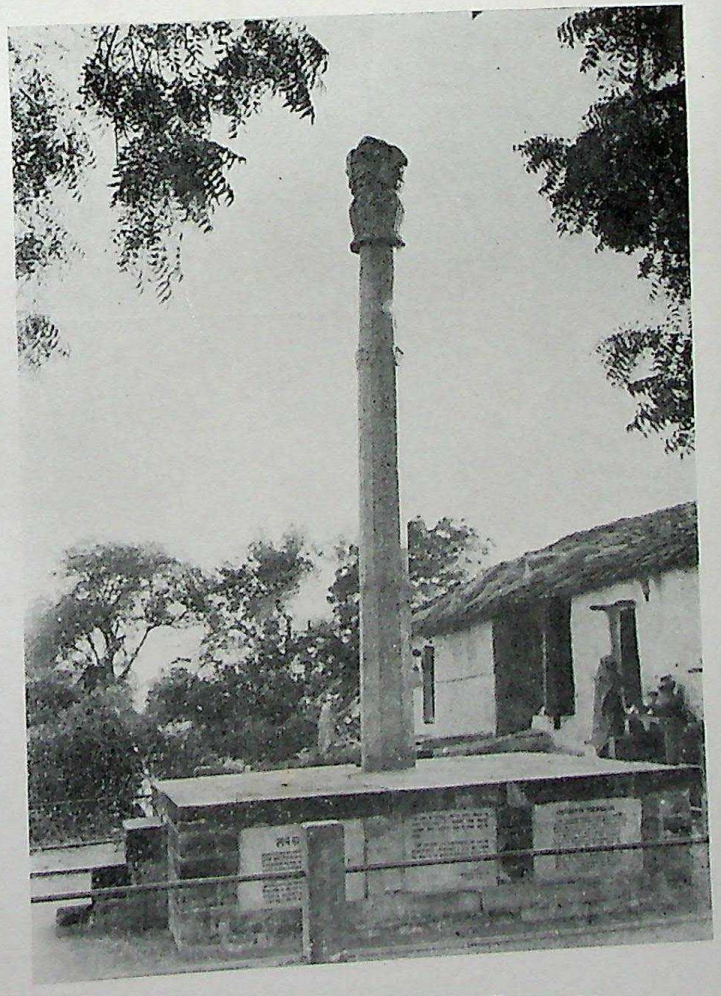


11. Eastern Gate Sānchi



12. Heliodorus Pillar from Besnagar

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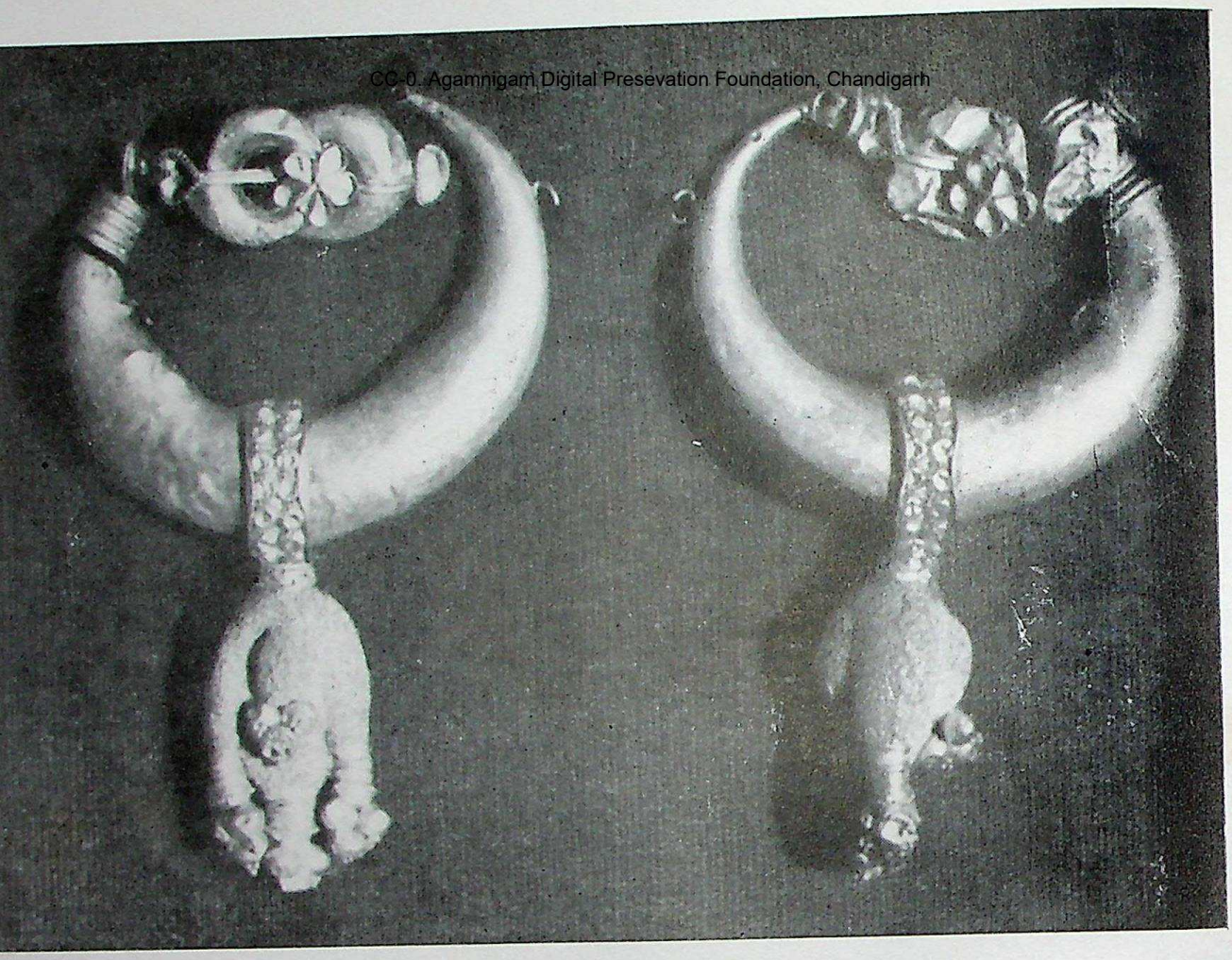
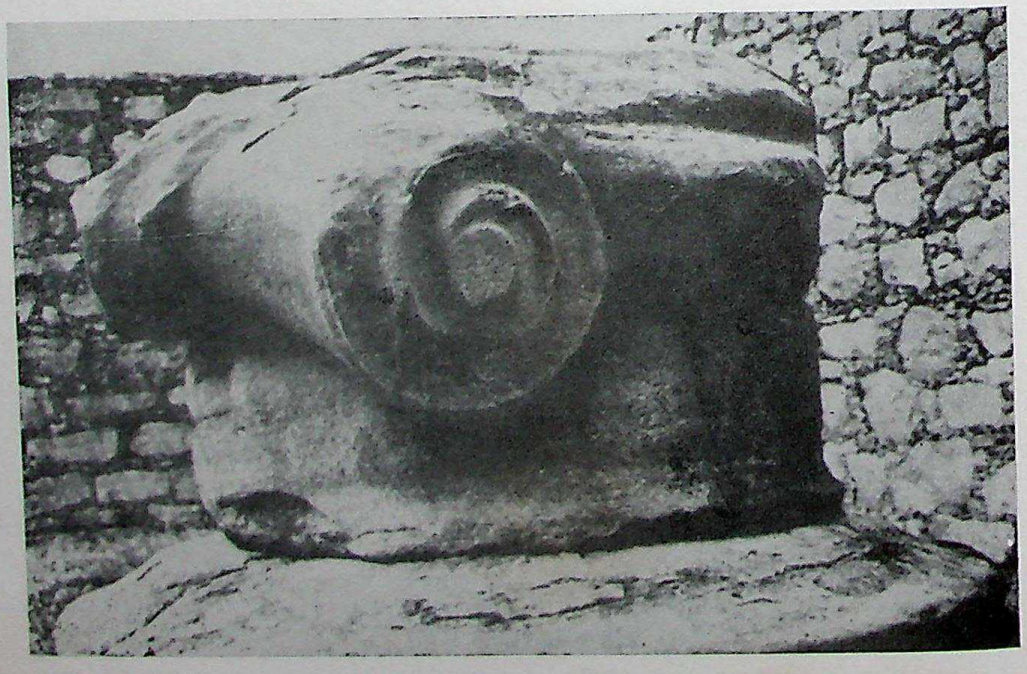


13. Pair of Indian Style gold earrings from Parthian Taxilā



14. Ionic Capital and Base Jandial Temple, Taxilā

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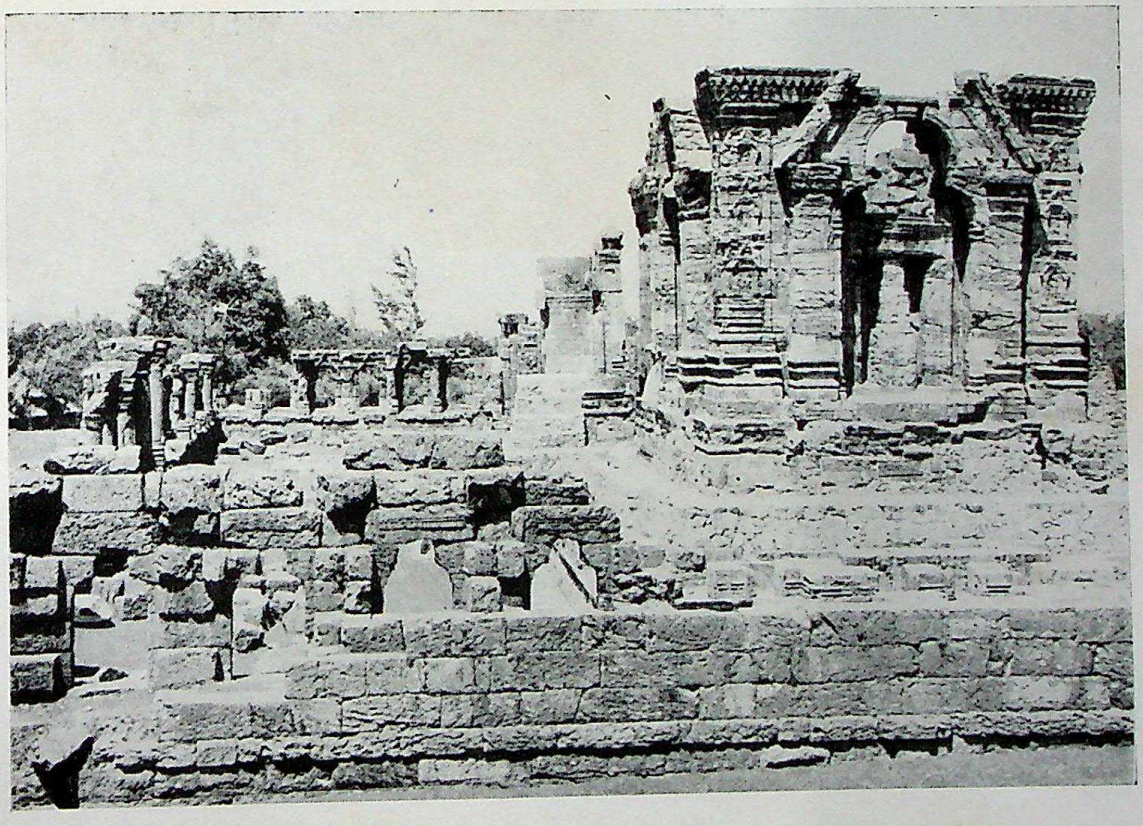

15. Mārtanda Temple—Kashmir (Main Shrine)

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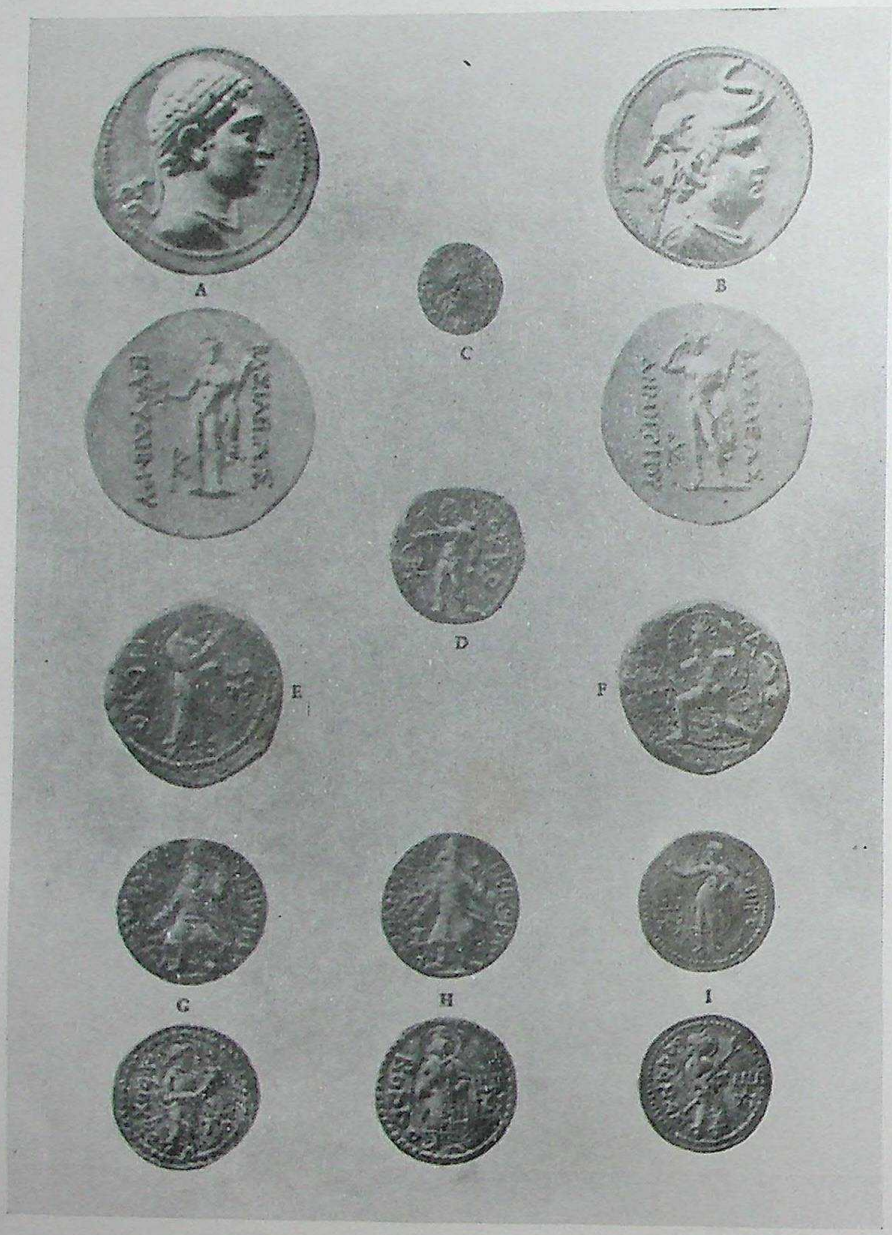

16. (A) Euthydemus King of Bactria—3rd & 2nd Cent. B. C.
(B) Demetrius, King of Bactria—2nd Cent. B. C.
(C) Antimachus, King of Bactria—early 2nd Cent. B. C.
(D) Kanishka, Coin with Śiva—1st Cent. A. D.
(E) Kanishka, Coin with Goddess Nania—1st Cent. A. D.
(F) Kanishka, Coin with God Vado—1st Cent. A. D.
(G) Kanishka, Coin with Goddess Ardoksho—1st Cent. A. D.
(H) Kanishka, Coin with Buddha—1st Cent. A. D.
(I) Kanishka, Coin with Mithras—1st Cent. A. D.

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17. Reliquary of King Kanishka

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18. Standing Buddha—Gandhāra—Hotimardan

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19. Standing Buddha with Halo—(Gandhāra)

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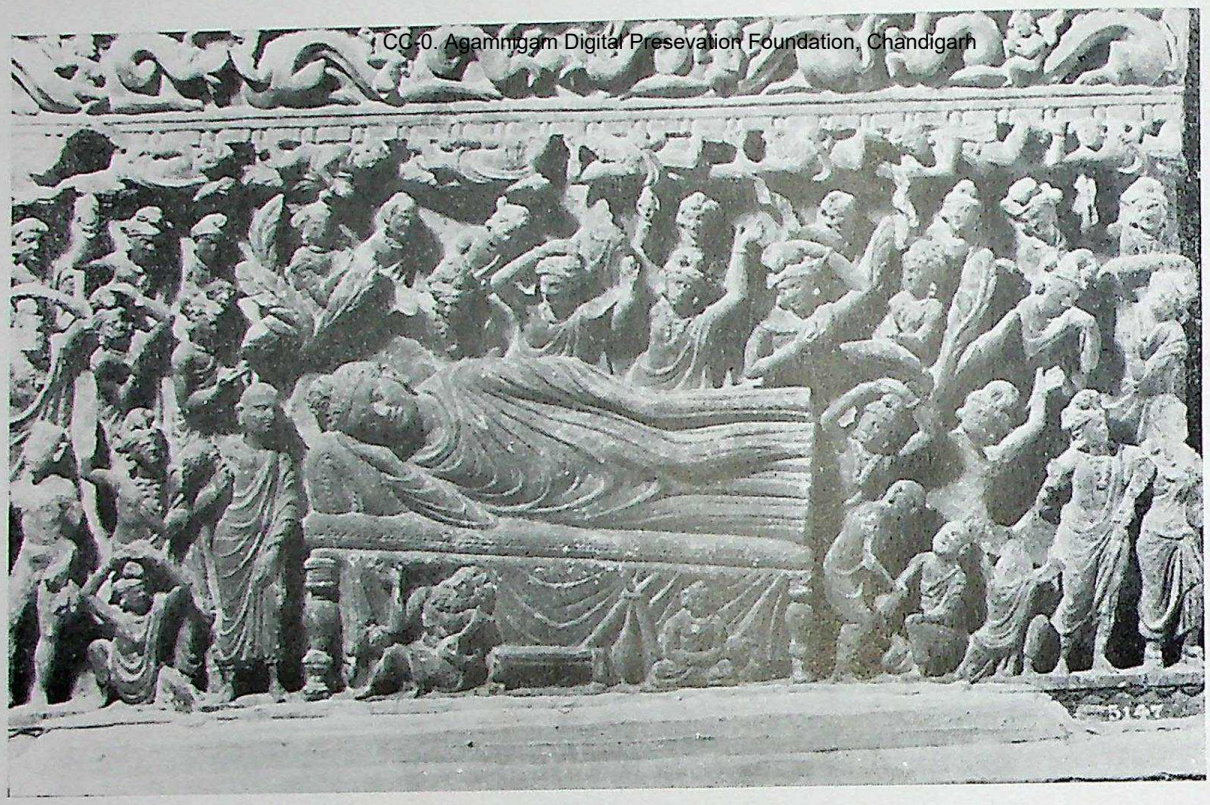

20. Mahāparinirvāna—Takht-i-Bāhī

21, Seated Buddha from Takht-i-Bāhī

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22. Standing Buddha
—Hoti-Mardan

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23. Buddha Seated on Lotus

24. Buddha of Great Miracle from Begram

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25. Head of Buddha—Kābul

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26. Buddha in Abhaymudrā

27. Buddha in Dhyānmudrā

28. Bodhi—Sattva—Gandhāra

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29. Bodhi—Sattva—Fondukistan

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30. Buddha Vajrapāni and offering bearers

31. Dipaṁkara Jātaka, Buddha and Vajrapāni-Butkara Swat

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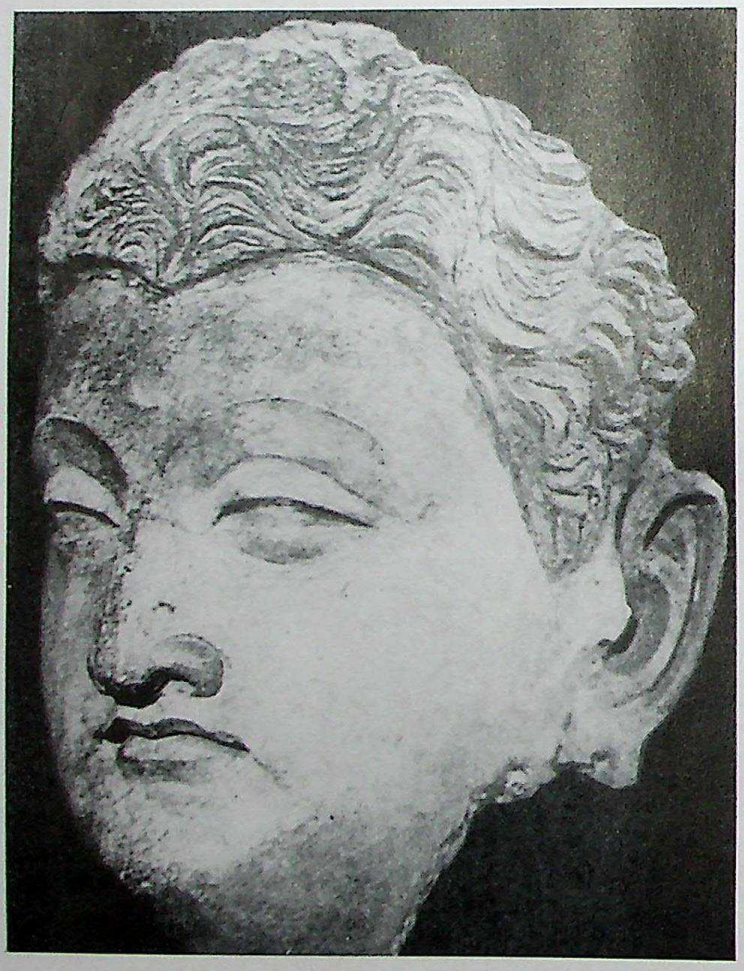

32. Head of Buddha—Afganistan

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33. Fragmentary Head of Vajrapāni

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34. Fasting Buddha—Sīkri

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35. Fragment of a relief—female figure—Gandhāra

36. Head of a youngman wearing a turban —Gandhāra

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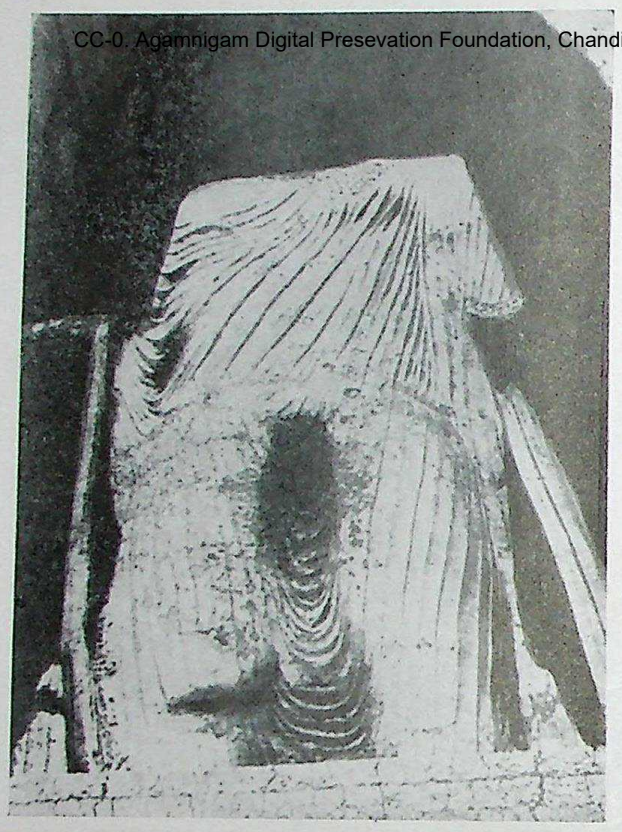
37. Head of Man wearing a turban
—Butkara—Swat

38. Head of Man wearing a turban
—Butkara—Swat

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

39. Worshipper in Kushān Costume Gandhāra

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



40. 120 feet Buddha—Bāmiyan

41. 175 feet Buddha—Bāmiyan

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42. Sūrya from Bodhgayā

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43. Birth of Siddhārtha

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44. Worship of Buddha

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45. Bodhi-Sattva with Sandals & Ornaments

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46. Donors in Foreign dress worshipping Buddha

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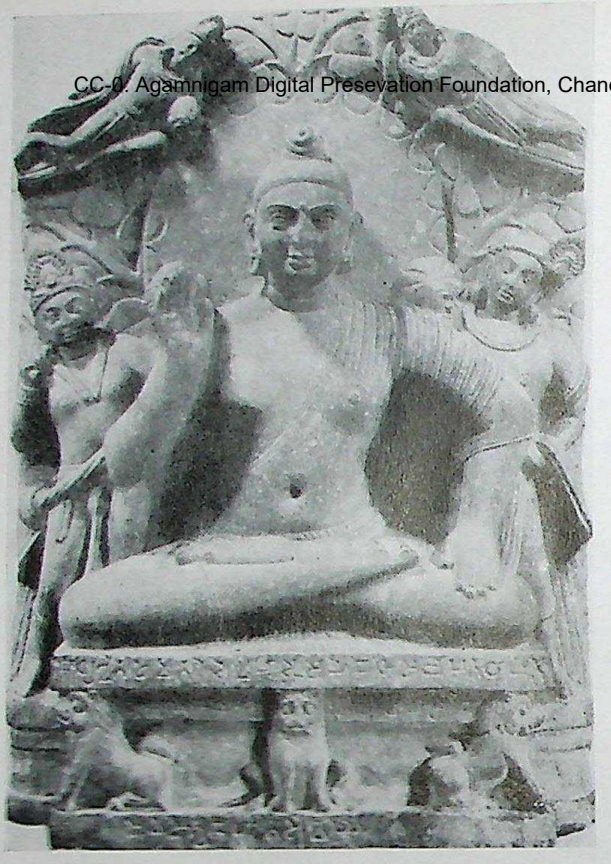

47. Seated Buddha—Mathurā

48. Head of Buddha—Mathurā

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49. Head of Buddha—Mathurā

50. Kubera and his disciples—Mathurā

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51. Kubera—Mathurā

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52. Sūrya—Mathurā

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

53. Skanda holding the Spear Mathurā—Kushāna Period

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54. Vimä Kadphises—Mathurā

55. Headless Statue of Kanishka (Mathurā)

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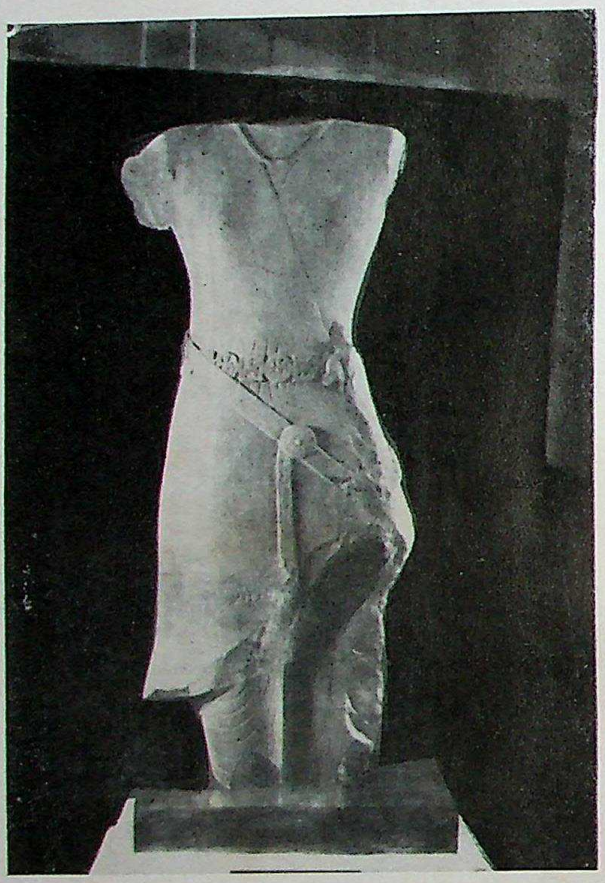

56. Torso of Casthana

57. Male Head with a Conical Cap Mathurā

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58. Woman at her toilette Mathura

59. Women doing her hair —Mathurā

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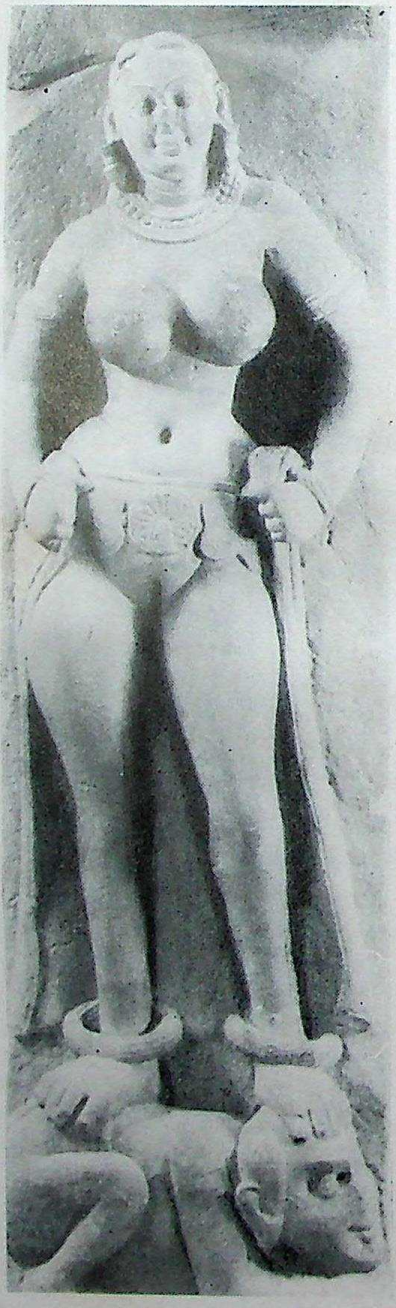
60. Yakshī—Rail Pillar Mathurā



61. Yakshī—Rail Pillar
Mathurā

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CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

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